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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
TOWN OF MALMESBURY
AND OF ITS
ANCIENT ABBEY,

(The Remains of which magnificent Edifice are still used as a
Parish Church;)

TOGETHER WITH
MEMOIRS OF EMINENT NATIVES

Who were connected with the Abbey or Town,

(EMBELLISHED WITH ENGRAVINGS.)

BY

JAMES T. BIRD, of Malmesbury.

Revised by J. E. JACKSON, M.A., F.S.A., Rector of Leigh Delamere; Hon.
Canon of Bristol, and by MACKENZIE E. C. WALCOTT, B.D., F.S.A.,
Precentor and Prebendry of Chichester, and other antiquarian Gentlemen.

MALMESBURY:
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR,
MARKET CROSS, 1876.

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TO

WALTER POWELL, Esq., M.P.,

OF

EASTCOURT HOUSE, IN THE COUNTY OF WILTS.

—O—

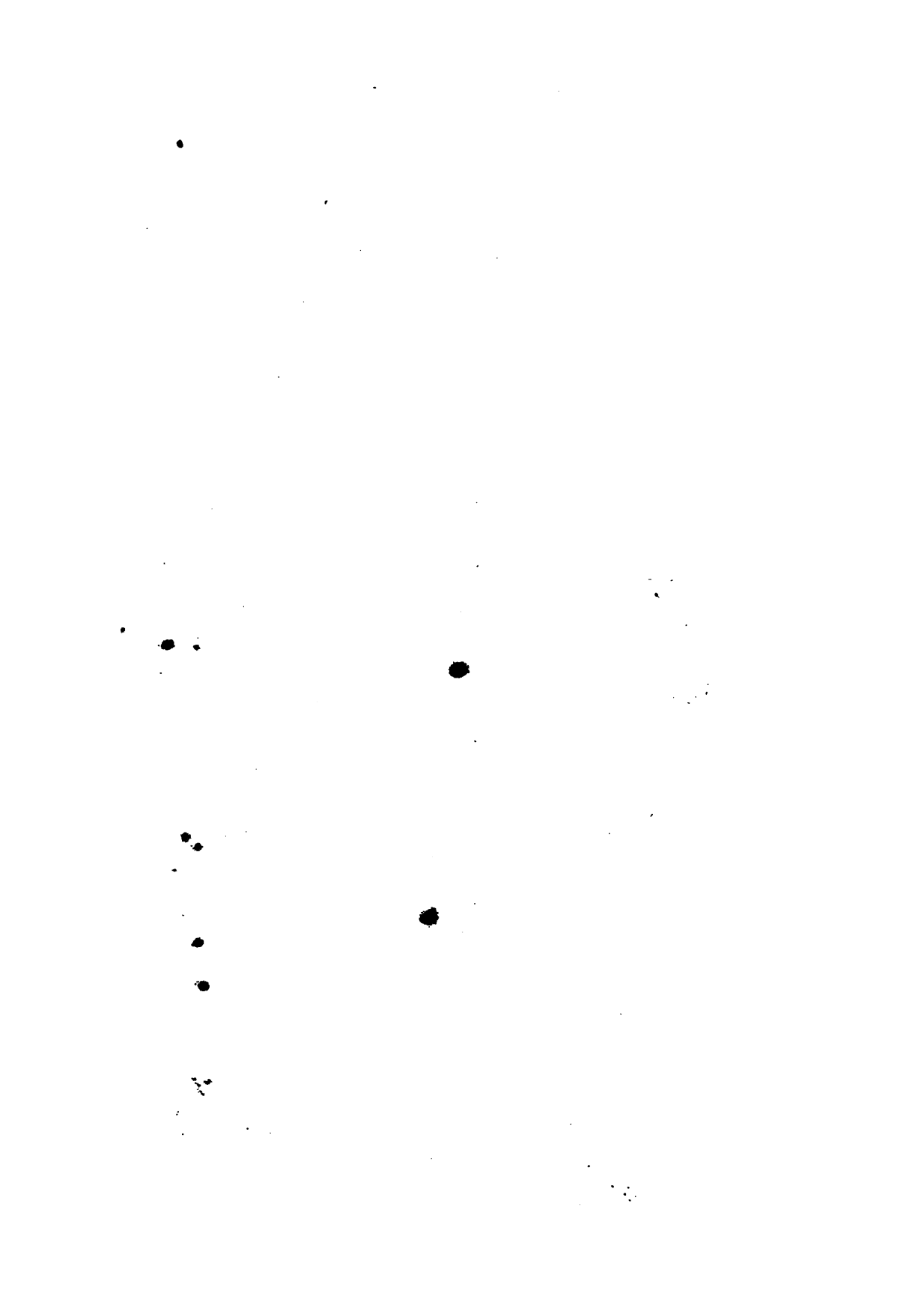
Respected Sir,

Knowing your attachment to this Borough through being its representative in Parliament, and the interest taken by you in its political and social affairs, especially in literary pursuits—anticipating, as you naturally must, an increasing bond of union between yourself and Malmesbury, I am persuaded you will accept, with favour, the dedication of its History. I am the more anxious to offer this Volume to your notice and patronage, because I am not acquainted with any Gentleman better qualified to appreciate the motives that have governed its Author, and the sentiments and statements he has herein recorded. That you may long continue to enjoy happiness yourself, by dispensing it to others around you, is the sincere wish of

Your obedient Servant,

JAMES T. BIRD.

July, 1876.



PREFACE.

IT must be acknowledged that local, or provincial history is, by no means of equal importance with, what is called, general history; but the former, on that account, should not be undervalued, as it serves as a proper introduction to the latter. Several writers have drawn together some imperfect notices concerning the ancient state of the Monastery and others, still more slight accounts of the town, yet Malmesbury has never before been the subject of a complete history. It is, also, worthy of remark, that many curious particulars have been brought forward in consequence of our researches, which, in a few years, would probably have been lost for ever for want of being recorded.

The remains of antiquity, the events of time, and the beautiful building remaining to ~~the~~ the present day, all conduce to furnish subjects the most interesting and instructive; these, so deservedly the objects of a literary pursuit, have engaged the compiler's attention; and in order that his humble endeavours may meet the public eye as correct as possible, the work has been revised by the Rev. J. E. Jackson, M.A., F.S.A., Rector of Leigh Delamere; Hon. Canon of Bristol, and Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, B.D., F.S.A., Precentor and Prebendry of Chichester, and other antiquarian Gentlemen, whose tastes and judgment, the writer presumes, will render the work, in some degree, worthy the patronage to which it aspires.

Four years have now elapsed since the author of the ensuing work began to collect materials for completing it. He would have been glad to have seen the undertaking executed by some abler hand, but as such an occurrence

PREFACE.

seemed improbable, he, at length, undertook the task himself. In undertaking a work relating chiefly to antiquarian subjects, the author was well aware that he had entered on a difficult study ; and he would not perhaps have made the hazardous attempt had he not been previously assured of receiving important assistance. He was ready to believe that patient research, and industrious accuracy, might supply the place of more splendid abilities,—believing that the style of writing history, which deals with the people, their social progress, dwellings, habits, trades, occupations, customs, and sports, rather than making it up exclusively of kings, princes, nobles, wars, usurpations, and state treasons, has grown into favour with the advanced enlightenment of the people, the rise of the middle-class, and the subsequent elevation of the masses.

Candour and impartiality are indispensably necessary in a work of this kind, and it is hoped that if any passage should occur in these pages, which may be thought to offend against either, it will be attributed to mistake, and not to design.

The materials from whence this history was compiled, were collected from various sources. Important information was promised by several enthusiastic literary friends on their being informed of the proposal for publishing the history; but, alas, when the time came for their proffered assistance, *little* was received from those from whom much was expected, and *none* from several of those who promised little. In this dilemma the writer determined to deepen his study, augment his researches, and strike out in a fresh field for friends and assistants in his task, and his diligence was rewarded by no less a prize than substantial literary assistance, and money to assist him in procuring the necessary paper and plates for the work.

PREFACE

Some acknowledgements are due for the liberty the author has taken with the works of contemporary writers, and he therefore, hopes that his sincere thanks for the advantages which has been derived from their respective labours, will be accepted. But more extensive obligations are owing to those friends who have contributed to the success of our undertaking.—To the Rev. Canon Jackson we are very highly indebted, not only for the liberal permission to make use of copious and valuable collections read by him at a meeting of the Wilts Archæological Society, at Malmesbury, August 5th, 1862; but also for his esteemed kindness assisting to revise the letter-press of the ensuing history.—To E. A. Freeman, Esq., for a cleverly written paper on “The Architecture of Malmesbury Abbey Church,” also published in the *Wilts Archæological Magazine*, No. 22.—In relating the early history of Malmesbury, material assistance has been derived from an account drawn by “Britannicus,” given in the above number of the *Wilts Magazine*.—To G. W. Goodwin, Printer, of Tetbury, (who holds the copyright of Mr. Moffatt’s History of Malmesbury), for the liberty of making extracts therefrom.—To Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, B.D., F.S.A., for supplying a correct list of the Abbots of the Monastery, and revising portions of the letter-press.—Also to Mr. W. Woodman, for extracts from *Oldfield’s Representative History*.—If the name of any friend or correspondent has been omitted in the preceding list the writer assures them that it was not intentional, for no one can feel more grateful than himself for favours of a literary nature, or be more ready to acknowledge them.

In addition to the foregoing names, the writer cannot withhold his warmest thanks to the following gentlemen for their pecuniary assistance—viz.: Walter Powell, Esq.,

PREFACE.

M.P. for the Borough, £5; Rev. Dr. Gale, £1; the late Mr. W. Panting, £1 1s.; W. Forrester, Esq., Solicitor, £1 1s.; S. Clark, Esq., £1 1s.; J. Alexander, Esq., £1 1s.; and W. Walker, Esq., 10s.

In concluding this preface it remains for me to take some notice of the present arduous undertaking, and without detracting from the merits of any other work of the same nature hitherto published, I can, with the greatest veracity assure my readers that nothing, either useful or curious relating to Malmesbury have escaped my notice; and many things are added which has been neglected by some, or unknown to others. The public will judge and determine how far I have exerted myself to obtain their approbation, nor am I afraid that they will hesitate one moment in declaring that I have, blended instruction with entertainment.

JAMES T. BIRD,
Malmesbury, Wilts.

July, 1876.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

MALMESBURY is the most ancient borough and town in North Wilts—43 miles N.N.W. from Salisbury, 10 N. from Chippenham, 11 S.W. from Cirencester, 5 S.E. from Tetbury, and 92 W. by N. from London ; diocese of Gloucester and Bristol, archdeaconry of Bristol, and deanery of Malmesbury N., situate on a bold eminence, and nearly surrounded by the converging branches of the Lower Avon, over which it has four bridges.

The town has, in its day, seen a great deal of service, and makes no inconsiderable figure in the domestic history of England. There is therefore an attaching interest to the good old town that can never fail to attract, and such that can never fade.

Its original foundation began with the Ancient Britons prior to the invasion of the Romans.

The monastic annals commence with a house of Nuns. under the direction of Benedict, in the fifth century, A.D. This infant establishment gave way to Maeldulphs monastery in the year 675, which was in a few years transformed into all the magnificent complication of a great abbotal structure, endowed by Saxon Bishops and Saxon Kings.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

The borough was incorporated by Edward the Elder, in 916, and returned two members, to Parliament from the reign of Charles I. till the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832; since which time it has returned only one member.

In biography, Malmesbury claims the distinction of giving birth to Oliver of Malmesbury, a monk of the 11th century, who distinguished himself by writing an abstract of practical mathematics and astrology—William of Malmesbury one of the most celebrated of our English historians, was born at Malmesbury, in the 12th century. He held the double office of preceptor and librarian to the monastery; and, in his latter capacity, was enabled, by the command of ancient manuscripts which he possessed, to write several books concerning the age preceding his own, with some local and personal notes of great value.—Thomas Hobbes was a native of Westport juxta Malmesbury. He was born in 1581. He took his bachelor's degree at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1603, and in 1607 his degree of Master of Arts,—Mary Chandler, a lady who distinguished herself by some ingenious poetical compositions, was born at Malmesbury in 1687.—Dr. Samuel Chandler, a learned divine, brother to the aforementioned poetess, was also born at Malmesbury.

The antiquity of the Abbey and Borough of Malmesbury; their importance in ancient times; the national events in which the inhabitants of the town have taken their parts, and the celebrity of those literary and political characters who have been connected with it, are circumstances which render the History of Malmesbury sufficiently interesting to attract the attention of the general reader. This portion of the kingdom, indeed, has been the principle theatre of the military and civil events which occurred in the early history of England, and bear marks of successive occupa-

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

tion by the Romans, the Romanised-Britons, the Saxons, and the Danes. Here the far-famed Arthur, and the still more illustrious Alfred, and the valiant Athelstan contended, at different periods, for the liberties of their country, and checked, for a time, the tide of invading conquest.

It is therefore presumed that the History of Malmesbury will not be found incapable of affording information to those who may be induced to peruse it; that impartially considered, it will be found the most full, the most accurate, and, at the same time, the best description of Malmesbury ever yet published.

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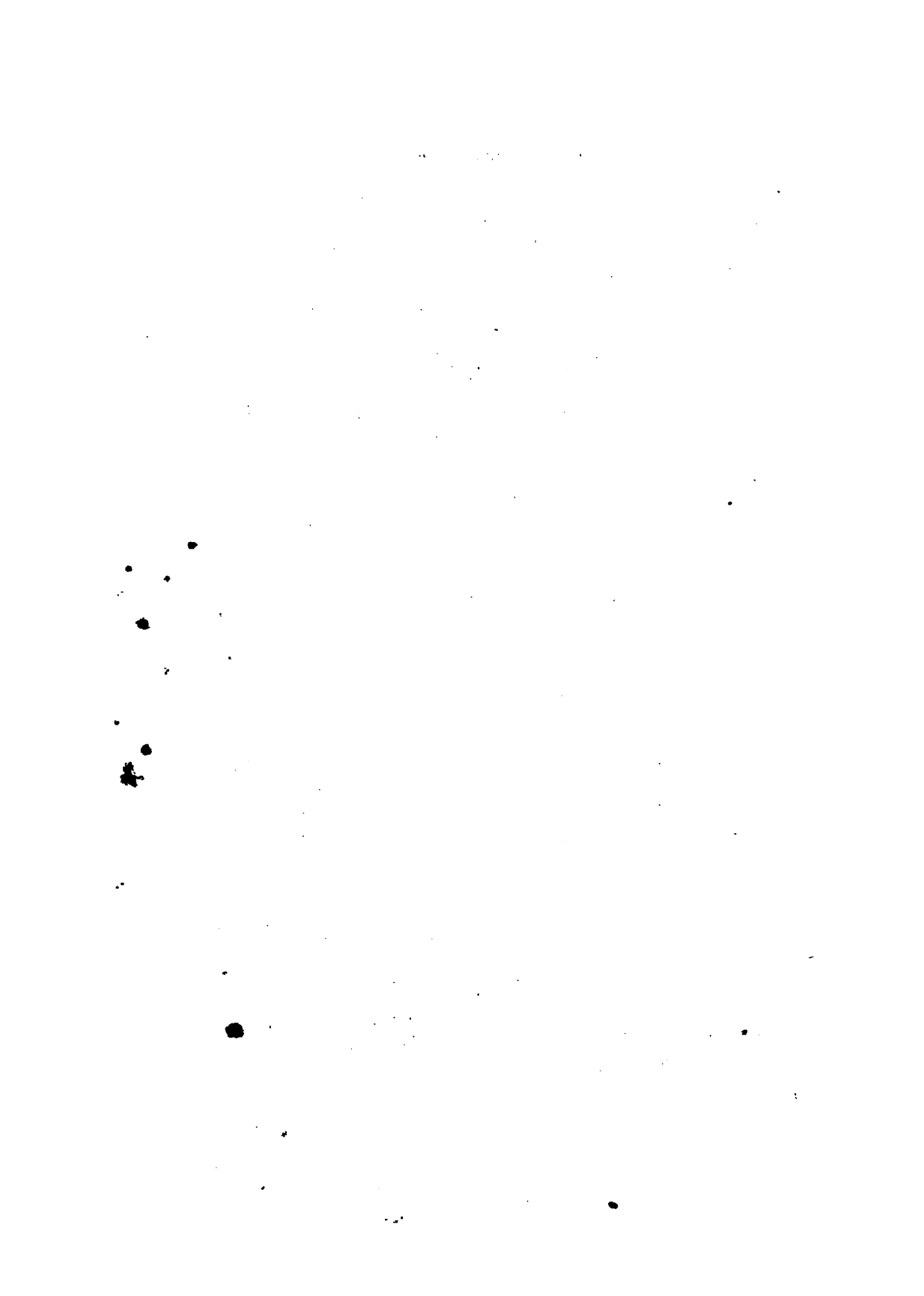
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ERRATA.



PLAN OF MALMESBURY.



THE
HISTORY OF MALMESBURY.

SECTION I.

FOUNDING OF THE TOWN—DERIVATION OF ITS NAME.

THE traditional Founder of Malmesbury, according to the Primitive British Records, was Dunwal Maclmutius or Malmud,* King Paramount of Britain, whose reign is fixed 400 years before the Christian era. I find by references to various authorities that he was the son of Cloten, Duke of Cornwall; that he succeeded his father in that Dukedom 400 years B.C., and in 408 B.C., after defeating his competitors, Hymner, Rhyddoc, and Staterius, ascended the throne of the whole island. By his wife Corwena he had two sons, Belinus who succeeded him, and Brennus the Conqueror and Captor of Rome and Founder of the Cisalpine or Celtic Empire of Italy. The Roman writers, Livy, Justin, Varro, and the Greek historian Poly-

* Pronounced "Malmeed"—"u" having the sound of "ee" in British, "Malmeedsbury" thus glides naturally into the contraction—Malmesbury.

bius, concur in assigning the foundation or reconstruction of all the principal cities in Northern Italy, Mantua excepted, to this Brennus or his brother Belinus, specifying by name—Genoa, Milan, Brescia, Verona, Como, Trent, Bergamo and Vicentia. Analytic historians such as Niebuhr, Arnold, Mommsen, have come to the conclusion, grounded on a wide field of evidences, that if the main body of these early Invaders of Italy were Gauls, their leaders were British or Cymric. In this conclusion we cannot but agree, having before us in addition the positive statement of Richard of Cirencester, derived from original authorities,—“All the regions south of the Thames, were according to ancient records occupied by the warlike nations of the Senones. These people under the guidance of the renowned King Brennus penetrated thro’ Gaul, forced a passage over the Alps hitherto impracticable and would have entirely razed Rome had not the Fates averted the threatened calamity.” [Ancient state of Britain.] Wilts (Wylt, British, the Wild) being part of Senonia, thus contributed its quota of heroes in these remote ages to the martial host, who “stormed the walls that Hannibal but gazed at,” and whose leader throwing his heavy sword into the balance pronounced the celebrated “Væ victis” to the Roman Consuls and Senate.

Ariminum (Rimini) and Ravenna in Italy, were founded by Belinus, who continued to be worshipped in the temples with divine honours, as late as the fifth century of the Christian era. In consulting the Italian local authors of the Middle Ages, who are valuable as repertories of primitive traditions, some identical with, some varying from those of the classic authors, I find all agreeing in assigning the foundation or restoration of these ten cities to the two brothers, Belinus and Brennus, and not a few of them stating in express terms that these were the two sons of Malmutius, King of Britain. Amongst others, Tristanus

Calchas, who composed the first History of Milan, writes thus:—"All authors concur in making Brennus, who burnt Rome at the head of the Gauls, the founder of Milan as a fortified city. This Brennus was the son of a very famous Monarch and Legislator of the Britons named Mahmutius, and with his brother Belinus conquered Gaul first and then led his army over the Alps into Italy. He was the first who crossed the Alps with a military force, having done so 140 years before Hannibal the Carthaginian." *Morell*, in his history of the Romans, says:—"The Gallic invasion, which proved so calamitous in its effects in the year B.C. 448, originated in the imprudence of three Roman youths of the Fabian family, who were sent to mediate between the inhabitants of Clusium, a small city of Tuscany, and Brennus the leader of the Transalpine Gauls. Unmindful of the character they sustained, as Roman ambassadors, and irritated by the imperious conduct of Brennus, these ardent youths became the partizans of the Clusini, incited them to arms, and even headed their troops in an assault, in which several of the Gauls were slain. This violation of honour and justice exasperated Brennus in so high a degree, that he determined to raise the siege of Clusium, and turn his arms against the Romans, who had sanctioned the treachery of their ambassadors by refusing to deliver them up to his heralds. He marched at the head of a numerous army through the lesser Italian states, and the counties which were tributary to the Romans, without meeting with any obstruction till he arrived at the river Allia, a few miles distant from the capital, where he encountered and completely routed the Roman army. If Brennus had followed up this victory by hastening to Rome, there can be no doubt that the city would have fallen an easy prey, and the Roman name had probably been extinguished for ever. But the conquerors continued on the battle field two days, plundering the Roman camp, and

indulging in every kind of excess, by which means sufficient time was given to the Romans to send away their wives and children, and to fill the Capital with troops, military stores, and provisions. On the third day after the battle the Gauls marched forward to the city, and were surprised to find its gates open, its walls, streets, and houses completely deserted, without the smallest attempt having been made to defend them. On entering the Senate-house, they were still more surprised to find there eighty venerable patricians, seated in their ivory chairs, drest in their most splendid senatorial robes, and holding in their hands the wands of office; who maintained a profound silence, and waited, with an unmoved countenance, the approach of the enemy. At first the Gauls contemplated these hoary-headed Senators with a species of veneration, as though they had been the tutelar deities of Rome; but when one of the most courageous among them, presumed to touch the beard of Papirius, received in return a severe blow from the senator's ivory wand, the barbarians were so irritated, as to draw their swords, and murder without distinction this unresisting and venerable band. The whole city was then given up to plunder, and quickly reduced to ashes. But the Romans regained the possession of all Italy 42 years after this event."

The names of these afore-mentioned towns no less than the topography of most of the rivers, mountains, and natural features of Northern Italy, certainly indicate a British origin, as the names Belinus, Brennus, themselves are pure British, one signifying "The Sun," or "Apollo," the other "a King." The capture of Rome by Brennus belongs to Roman History, nor need it be further adverted to than to supply us from Plutarch and Virgil with a description of the uniform worn by the soldiers of *this* island who served under Brennus. Their helmets represented the heads of wild beasts or imaginary monsters adorned with winged

crests to add to the apparent height, their bodies were guarded with steel mail, and they carried shields polished to extreme brilliancy. Every one of noble blood wore a torque or chain of twisted gold round the neck, and a tunic figured with gold. Each soldier bore a battle axe, and in close combat used a heavy double-edged sword. The old Chronicles say that there was some kind of strong place at Malmesbury 400 years before Christ, four centuries before the Romans occupied this country; that its name as well as that of the river, was then Bladon; and that the builder was a British king, named Malmud, who also built *Caer Odor* or Bristol, *Crug-Lwyd* or Cricklade, *Llech-Llwyd* or *Llechlade*. The name Bladon certainly occurs in very ancient documents, and the situation of the town was precisely of that kind which was sure to be seized upon for the defence of property, in days when property stood in very great need of being defended. We have seen that Belinus and Brennus were great city builders in Italy, and it is not disputed that Belin's Gate, vulgarly called Billingsgate, in London, and *Caer Belin*, now *Caer-Phili* in South Wales, were also so-called from Belinus. It follows that there is no improbability in the statement that the powerful father of such builders should have been something of a builder himself, that he should have indulged in the commonest of methods by which Kings have in all ages attempted to transmit their memory to after-times. Nature has in every country her strong positions which a military eye immediately detects. Such sites abound in Greece, Italy, France, and Britain. It is impossible for Antiquity itself to put its finger on the time when such positions as Edinburgh, Stirling, Durham, Dover, Rome, Corinth, Athens—Nature's own fortresses opening up or commanding wide districts—have not been occupied. Revolutions in commerce affect the value of some of these cities, revolutions in the art of war the value of others, but we may lay it down as a general

rule that there is not a naturally strong fortress in any land which was not seized and in some way fortified very soon after its earliest colonization. The situation of Malmesbury on a peninsulated rock, at the confluence of two streams commanding a fertile district, satisfied all the requirements of peace or war in primitive times. The wisdom of that selection, in a military point of view, has been proved by the numerous sieges it stood in the middle ages, and the succession of castles which have been erected on the ruins which preceded them. And as to the fertility of the soil, the Ecclesiastics, and particularly the Monks, seldom made a mistake on that point. All over the kingdom wherever we meet with an Abbey Farm it is certain to be the best farm in the parish, but we must in justice recollect that the Abbots and Monastic Houses were on the other hand the best and the most enlightened landlords in the kingdom. The same local advantages which challenged the attention of King and Churchman in later ages were, we may be assured, not thrown away on the religion or ambition of preceding eras. Wiltshire is studded with religious remains of the grandest character, from Avebury to Stonehenge, of the British period. Stonehenge in its way was no less remarkable than Malmesbury Abbey. I cannot suppose that Primitive Wilts was deficient in defensive structures, nor can I explain to myself why the river washing the base of the formidable military site of Malmesbury still retains the pure British name of Avon, if the first settlers on its margin, and occupants of its natural strongholds were not Britons. The appellation given it by the race who first built their habitations on its banks has never disappeared, attesting at this moment the fact of a British Founder to the town it encircles, and though that material foundation itself may have been swept away by the revolutions of races, kings, and laws, I must confess that I entertain the belief that its original name as "Malmud's Castle, Castra Malmutii," or Saxon,

"Malmud's Burg," is co-eval with the name of the river, both being purely British, running back to the dim but not unscientific eras when the vast circle of Avebury, the Gilgal of Britain, was pitched, and the masses of Cor Gaur (afterwards Stonehenge) were elevated into the air. The Architects who reared this latter pile would certainly have experienced no difficulty in the construction of ordinary buildings. Now the chronicles of the British Kings state that Malmud laid the foundations of Bristol and Malmesbury the same day. I see no solid reason to discredit this statement, I accept it on the grounds which I have enumerated, viz., that his sons Belinus and Brennus were great city builders, that Wilts abounds in British monuments of prior date to Malmud requiring greater mechanical skill and appliances in their construction than any castles or fortifications.

Dr. Stukeley, in his treatise on the Antiquities of Wilts, dates the foundation of Avebury fourteen hundred years before that of Stonehenge, a period which he supposes to coincide with the age of Abraham and of Inachus, about 1860 years before Christ. He says, "By the last light I can obtain, I judge our Tyrian Hercules made his expedition into the ocean about the latter end of Abraham's time: and most likely 'tis that Avebury was the first great Temple of Britain, and made by the first Phenician colony that came hither; and they made it in this very place on account of the stones of the grey-nethers, so commodious for that purpose." *

The Rev. Samuel Seyer, in his "Memoirs Historical and Topographical of Bristol and its Neighbourhood," published in 1821-25 (Vol. I., p. 97), has described an ancient monument of upright stones at Stanton-Drew. To that account he has added some observations on the subject, comprising a view of the opinions advanced by other writers. "When,

* "Abury," p. 53.

or for what purpose, this and other such monuments were erected, can only be conjectured. That they were built by the Romans or under their direction, as Inigo Jones supposed, is too absurd to be argued. That they were all erected by the Saxons is impossible; for they are found in Cornwall, Wales, Cumberland, Ireland, and Scotland, where the Saxons never penetrated; that they were any of them built by the Saxons (particularly Stonehenge), is incredible. While they and the Britons were engaged in a relentless warfare, how could the labour of a whole nation be spared, for the purpose of erecting Stonehenge or Avebury? But if Stonehenge was built by the Saxons, under Hengist, it must have been the first building of that sort; but Avebury and Stanton Drew were certainly built long before it, consisting of stones rough and shapeless; whereas Stonehenge was an elegant structure, having the stones hewn into a regular shape, apparently the consummation of that style of architecture. These buildings then must be the work of the ancient inhabitants of Britain, before the arrival of the Romans; ours at Stanton Drew, probably many hundred years before that event; Dr. Stukeley considers it to be far more ancient than Avebury itself."

Dr. Greatheed ascribes the erection of Avebury to Prydain, who is mentioned in the Welsh Triads as a monarch who united under his government, or "brought into confederation," the "three original tribes of Britons." This prince, he says, reigned in the fifth century before Christ, about two centuries after the first population of Britain. His existence, and his unparalleled eminence are testified by the numerous Triads in which his name is introduced, on account of various excellencies ascribed to him, and national benefits derived from him. It is, therefore, not unnatural to suppose that the sublime tumulus, called by the Saxons, Silbury, within sight of Avebury, and central to its

avenues, was raised for his sculture."* We have seen by the foregoing extracts that England was peopled several centuries before the arrival of the Romans, and that its occupants inhabited this very spot. The name of the stream on which Malmud's Castle was built, is the best natural evidence we can have that its founder spoke the language in which the name still bears the meaning of "a River." It is obvious that no Roman, Saxon, or Norman gave the stream its present appellation. In what language has that appellation a meaning? In the British. The man or men who named it were therefore Britons; which leads us by another process of reasoning to the same conclusion. And as the Chronicles and Traditions of Britain are all in unison in the statement that the Briton who founded the Castle on the Avon was Malmud, and that the castle retains his name, I am satisfied for my part with such agreement of monumental, philological and documentary evidence. I consider the old British King, the Justinian of Antiquity, to be the first founder of this town, and to have first built upon this site; others continuing to build on the ruins of his structure, on the ruins of the Roman—of the Saxon; as I venture to say many of the houses in modern Malmesbury have since been built out of the ruins of the Norman Abbey and its outbuildings.

Having attempted to do justice to Malmud as a Founder of Cities, I have a word to say about him as a founder of Constitutions. There are extant in the British language some very curious epitomes of British History drawn up in the Druidic Form of Triads, and therefore called "The Triads." There are other Triads of Poetry, of Bardism, of Proverbs, of Religion, of Law, but it is the Historical which bear upon our present point. There are certain of these in

* "Beauties of England and Wales," Vol. xv., p. 710.

in which Malmud enacts a prominent part in more than one capacity. I cite one or two illustrations. "There are three pillars of the nation of the Isle of Britain—the first two mentioned are: Hu the Mighty, its first colonizer, and Prydain from whom it derives its name; the third is Dunwal Malmud, who codified the Laws, Maxims, Usages and Privileges of the Country and its Isles." Another Triad runs thus—"The three Founders of the Monarchic system in Britain—the first Prydain, the second Dunwal Malmud, the third Brennus or Bran, son of Lear—on the systems of these three rested the Monarchy of Britain." A third mentions Malmud as one of the three Benefactor Sovereigns, or as the Greeks would term them—"Euergetai" of the Isle of Britain, in being the Founder of its Institutes—and a fourth as one of its Three Primary Inventors. I consider these singular matter-of-fact Triads confirmatory evidence that Malmud was not a myth, but a real character, a substantial hero of flesh and blood, playing a very important part in the Early History of our Island.

And I must not conclude without giving a specimen of his Laws and Legislation. These Laws are a codification, in the above Druidic fashion of Triads, of the usages, faith and practices, which were brought into this Island by our first British ancestors from the East, probably about the era of Abraham, certainly many centuries before the Christian era. No allusion to Judaism, the Greek and Latin mythologies, or to Christianity is to be met with in them. They are manifestly the code of a patriarchal state of society, and of a purely Monotheistic religion. They used to be learnt by heart by all the students in the Druidic Colleges, one requisite of a Druidic Law being "that it should be intelligible to all the people." When we remember the gross folly and inhumanity—I may say the brutality—of many of our own modern Laws till a very recent date

such as the enactments of hanging a man for stealing a sheep or a horse, in common with committing a murder, we shall perhaps be amazed at the very different spirit which breathes in this earliest Legislation of our Island, nor shall we be less surprised at the high tone of civic liberty, which animates this "Code Malmud" of one of the three Sovereign Benefactors of Britain—a title which the mildness and beneficence of it amply justify I quote a few specimens.

"There are three tests of Civil Liberty, viz.: Equality of Rights—Equality of Taxation—Freedom to come and go.

"There are three things belonging to a man which no Law can take or transfer—his wife, his children, and the instruments of his calling, for no Law can unman a man or uncall a calling.

"There are three persons in each family exempted from all manual or menial work—the child, the old man or woman, and the family instructor.

"There are three of private rank, against whom no weapon can be bared—a woman, a child under 15, and an unarmed man.

"There are three civil birthrights of every Briton—the right to go wherever he pleases, the right of protection from his land and sovereign, the right of equal privileges and equal restrictions.

"There are three things which every Briton may legally be compelled to attend—the worship of God, military service, and the Courts of Law.

"There are three things free to every man, Briton or Foreigner, the refusal of which no Law can justify—water from a spring, well or river; firing from a dead tree, a block of stone not in use.

"There are three Ends of Law—prevention of wrong,

punishment for wrong inflicted, insurance of just retribution.

"There are three persons who have a right to public maintenance—the old, the babe, and the foreigner who cannot speak the British tongue.

The Malmutian Code is contained in 248 clauses, varying in length from a few lines to a page or more. It was translated by Gildas the Historian, A.D. 600. (Leland's Collect: iii., p. 20.)

Malmutius designed and partly constructed the system of British Roads which the Romans found here, on the lines of which nearly all the Primitive British towns were built. These were 1, the Sarn Wyddelin (Irish Road) corrupted into Watling Street, from Dover to Holyhead; 2, the Ryknield Street from Menapia to the mouth of the Tweed; 3, the Ermyrn Street (properly Arimin, that is "Frontier" Street, the same word as "Ariminum,") from Anderida on Pevensy to the Humber; 4, the Iknield Street on the Eastern coast; 5, Akeman (properly Ach-maen, *i.e.* 'Pavement') Street from Menapia (St. David's) joining Watling Street at Leicester; 6 and 7, the two Sarn Halens, *i.e.* Saltways from the Cheshire salt mines to Portsmouth and the Humber; 8, the Fosse Road from Ictis (St. Michael's Mount) to Dunbreton (Dunbarton) on the Clyde, unless we terminate it at Ludford in Lincolnshire. Some of these roads were undoubtedly pitched or paved from their British names "Palmentadi," others like the Fosse appear to have been little else than open strata or passages running without interruption from end to end, free to all, and placed under the protection of the "King and Country." A robbery or assault on any one of these roads was visited with the same legal penalty as burglary or violence in a closed house. They took mostly a sinuous line at a moderate elevation above ground. Being completed by Belinus they were better known as the Belinian roads. In

their first and second invasions the Romans made them their lines of march, and subsequently in some measure laid down their own military roads by them. Hence the Belinian and Roman Itinera constantly run in and out of each other; which is still the case at Cirencester where the Foss, the Ikniel, the Akeman and Ermyn streets intersect each other.

In speaking of these ancient works which were constructed for the defence of this part of the country and for the accommodation of the people, it is difficult to define the precise share of the ancient Britons in their construction, as compared with the labours of successive occupants of the country. Old Sarum, for example, has the characteristics of a work essentially different from the camps and castles of Roman origin. But the Romans, too wise a people to be destroyers, would naturally improve the old defences, and adapt them to their own military science. So, we imagine, it would have been with what is generally called the four great Roman Ways. We may take, therefore, the statements of the old chroniclers with regard to the more ancient and important highways as not wholly fabulous. Robert of Gloucester, in his rude rhyme, has told as much as it is necessary here to say about them—

“Fair ways many of them been in Englonde;
But four most of all there been I understonde,
That through an old king were made ere this.
From the South into the North goeth Ermyn-street.
From the East into the West goeth Ikenild-street.
From South-east to North-west, that is sum del grete,
From Dover into Chester goeth Watling-street.
The feth of these taketh to Tatenies.
From the South-west to North-west into Englonde’s end.
Fosee men calleth that way which by many town doth wend.
There four ways on this lande king Belin the wise,
Made and ordained them with great franchise.”

Malmutius bequeathed his first name Dunwal or Dun-

wallo to the place of his birth, which still retains it in Cornwall—Dunwallo Wynton. Tradition places also his ducal palace there, which the name “Wyndun the White Town,” seems to confirm.

He is said also to have been the First British Monarch who wore a golden crown with the double arch, the Kings who preceded him being content with a plain gold bundlet.

He was succeeded after a reign of 40 years by his son Belinus, who built over his remains the “Porta Belini,” now Billingsgate in London.

Leland* tells us, “that a Castle was erected at Malmesbury about one hundred and seventy-four years after the founding of the city of Rome; or between four and five centuries B.C.”

Camden† says, “that Malmesbury and the castles of Lacock and Tetbury were built by Dunwallo Malmutius, King of the Britons, and by him Malmesbury was called *Caer Bladon*.”

Jones, the eminent Welsh historian, says, “that Malmeed, King of the Britons, founded Malmesbury in the fifth century B.C. That the original Celtic name was *Caer Molmud*, that the Anglo-Saxons naturally gave it that of *Molmudsberrig*, and hence its present euphonious name of Malmesbury.”

Sammes‡ also informs us, “that Dunwallo Malmutius built Malmesbury and two neighbouring castles, Lacock and Tetbury; that Malmesbury was named by him *Caer Bladon*.”

Upon the whole, supposing Malmutius to have first occupied the commanding position on which Malmesbury

* Leland, *Collectanea*, p. 304.

† Camden's *Britain*, p. 196.

‡ Sam, *Britan, Antiquities*, p. 172.

stands, and the Monk Maeldulph who fixed his Hermitage amongst the *debris* of centuries on the same site ; or Aldhelm, who built the monastery in the sixth century, to be considered its religious Founders, there appears to be a great deal more of authentic and interesting matter transmitted to us from the hoary records and traditions of Antiquity about the King—Father than the Monk—Fathers of this ancient town. The name Malmesbury, flowing so *easily* from Malmeedsbury, cannot without infallibly bringing etymology to grief be derived from Maeldulph-Adhelm-berg. I shall therefore deny the friars of the honour of giving a name to this venerable town, and claim it for the British King Malmeed, who reigned in the West of England centuries before Maeldulph or Aldhelm, chanted a mass in their wood-walled chapel, the person adverted to by our own Chroniclers—Leland, Camden, and others—as being the original Founder of the stronghold on the River Bladon.

This is the Malmutius whose civilizing deeds are thus described by Spenser :—

“ Then made he sacred laws, which some men say
Were unto him revealed in vision ;
By which he freed the traveller’s highway,
The Churche’s part, and ploughman’s portion,
Restraining stealth and strong extortion ;
The gracious Numa of Great Britainy :
For till his days, the chief dominion
By strength was wielded without policy :
Therefore he first wore crown of gold for dignity.

SECTION II.

ANCIENT STATE OF THE TOWN—DESCRIPTION OF THE INHABITANTS—ROMAN PERIOD—SAXON PERIOD— CONVERSION OF THE SAXONS.

ANCIENT Malmesbury was in a condition widely different from that which it exhibits at the present day. It was covered with forests and marshes; its inhabitants dwelt in wicker cabins, and their food was the flesh and milk of their cattle. They clad themselves with the skins of beasts. Their boats were of framework covered with *hides*, and called *coracles*. In war they used cars or chariots with scythes fixed to the wheels, drawn by two horses. These they drove into the midst of the enemy, cast their javelins at them, and when surrounded, leaped from the car, and fought with the greatest bravery on foot, and in order to appear the more terrible to their enemies, they painted their bodies of various colours, like the North American Indians.

The religion of these Britons was of a gloomy and sanguinary character. The altars of their gods were frequently smeared with the blood of human victims slain in their honour. Their priests, named Druids, enjoyed great power and consideration, being free from all taxes and other burdens, and not required to serve in war. They are said to have possessed a good deal of knowledge in natural science; but they confined it to their own order, and kept the people in general in the grossest ignorance. One of their principal

religious doctrines was the transmigration of souls, or their passage at death from one body to another.

Within this Shire there were several REGULI which often made war one upon another; and the great Ditches which run on the plains and elsewhere for so many miles (not unlikely) their boundaries; and served for defence against the incursions of their enemies, as Pict's Wall, and Offa's Ditch seems to confirm.

INVASION OF THE ROMANS A.D. 410.

The first Roman general who visited Britain was the celebrated Julius Cæsar. He landed twice in the island; the first time he did little but debark his troops near Deal, in Kent, and drive off the natives who came to oppose his landing; but the second time he advanced into the country, passed the Thames near Hampton Court, took the chief town of a prince named Cassibelaunus, to whom the Britons had given the command of their army, and made them promise to pay tribute to the Romans. But when Cæsar was gone the Britons never thought more of their promise.

During the abode of the Romans in Britain its inhabitants gradually adopted the civilization and manners, the dress, language, and literature of their conquerors; and when the Roman legions no longer remained to protect them, they took up arms, declared themselves independent, and drove from their coasts the barbarians who had been excited by Gerontius to invade them. Independent Britain, from the year 410, contained many independent republics or *civitates*, each governed by magistrates, a senate, with other necessary officers. There was generally a bishop in each, whose power frequently extended to lay matters. These *civitates* were *relics* of the Roman Government.

It is generally supposed that the Romans were the first inhabitants of this ancient town; but what use they may

have made of the hill and the streams does not appear, for I do not remember to have heard that any *Roman remains* have ever been found precisely upon the site of the town itself. Roman pedigrees lie underground. It is not enough merely to pick up a coin or two, because money may have been dropped anywhere. You must put the spade into the garden a little deeper than usual, find a mosaic pavement or a bath, and then you may claim to be the successors of Roman householders.

There is, it is true, the Foss Road, running about two miles north of the town, which is supposed to have been made by the Romans. Not impossible; but first of all, is it quite certain that the Foss was *made* by the Romans? It is doubtful, and the reasons are these. First, the Roman Road-books have come down to us, and in them there is no mention of the Foss. Again: in one most important particular, the Foss (at *least*, in our part of it) bears very little resemblance to what we are told about roads made by the Romans.

Vitruvius has given us exact directions for making a Roman road. They began, he says, by making two parallel furrows, the intended width of the road, and then removed all the loose earth between them till they came to the hard solid ground, and they filled up the excavation with fine earth beaten in. This first layer was called *pavimentum*. Upon it was laid the first bed of the road, consisting of small squared stones, nicely ranged on the ground, and a large quantity of fresh mortar poured into it. This layer was called *statumen*. The next was called *rudus*, and consisted of a mass of small stones, broken to pieces and mixed with lime. The third layer, or bed, which was termed *nucleus*, was formed of a mixture of lime, chalk, pounded or broken tiles, beaten together, or of gravel, or sand and lime mixed with clay. Upon this was laid the surface or pave-

ment of the road, which was called *summum crusta*. It was composed sometimes of flag-stones cut square or polygonally, but oftener of a bed of gravel and lime. The roads were thus raised higher than the surrounding grounds, and on this account the mass was termed *agger*.

There are, he says, Roman roads which in some way or other vary from the above description; some are entirely without the *nucleus*, in others there was no *statumen*. Nevertheless there was always found a sufficiently close resemblance between the structure of the old Roman roads as they exist, and the directions given above.

These roads were most excellent, and made with very great care. This can hardly be said of the Foss. It may be, or it may have been, better in other parts, but between Easton Grey and Bath, the only parts that have ever been *made* at all are those which, happening to fall in with our village lanes, do now and then get modern parish-repair. In some parts, as for instance, at what is called "Gib-gate" going towards Castle Combe, this road is so narrow that if two carts meet one or the other must go back. Along miles of it, the original soil has never been taken off at all, but there is the natural clay or rock, which neither pickaxe nor spade has ever disturbed.

The Foss has one strong Roman feature, viz.: that it runs quite straight. That was a point of importance with them, one of their chief objects being to bring up troops with rapidity from a distance. They undoubtedly used the road, but it is not certain that they made it, or surely such a grand work would have been mentioned in their Itineraries or Road-books.

Cæsar says that he made two campaigns in Britain, the second lasting six months, that he fought a succession of pitched battles, that at the end of these six months he had

failed to force his way beyond our modern St. Alban's, *i.e.*, 70 miles from the coast: that the British King Cassibelanus kept under his own command, independent of cavalry or infantry, numbering 230,000, a force of 4,000 chariots with which he so successfully harassed the Roman Army that his (Cæsar's) cavalry could not move except under the protection of his heavy-armed legionaries. Taking Cæsar's own statement, we must believe that these "Blue Britons" fought him, the first commander of the first Military Empire of Antiquity, with such success in a series of engagements that he was glad to conclude a peace with drawing every Roman soldier from the island, and subjecting himself to the imputation freely cast upon him at Rome that in one of these actions he had actually turned his back and fled for refuge to his camp—"Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis."

If our forefathers with nothing but their native courage vanquished—or at least baffled—Cæsar and his mail-clad legions, their posterity with every military appliance which wealth or science can place at their disposal may feel that in their mouths the words of Shakespeare will never be a mere empty bravado.

"If Britain to herself do prove but true,
Come the four corners of the world in arms,
And we will stand the shock."

There must have been a regular system of roads for this national force—these roads must have been some time in existence, for Cæsar alleges that these 4,000 chariots were but a part of their national armament, here is at least a force of 8,000 horses and 8,000 mounted warriors—such armaments are not created at once nor before roads are formed on which they can be used in peace or war, nor before the arts of mining and smelting in various branches have attained a certain degree of perfection and extension.

Moreover, a race so conversant with the management of horses as to use armed chariots for artillery, are not likely to have been without an extensive system of roads, and where there are roads towns will not long be wanting. Hence in less than forty years after the complete subjugation of the island by Agricola, Plotemy tells us of at least fifty-six cities in existence here, we may reasonably conclude that most of them are not due to Roman civilization. Combining, then, these facts and statements derived from the classic and for the most part hostile authors, I see no reason to refuse credit to the British and other authorities which affirm that King Malmeed commenced, and his son Belinus, perfected the Foss Road.

Of the Romans we cannot find many traces in our Wiltshire names. Apart from the general reason that they occupied Britain after all as a military garrison, and lived too little among the natives to leave any deep impress behind them, they seem to have had very little hold on what we call the County of Wilts.

“Antoninus, in his Itinerary, which was compiled about A.D. 320, mentions only three stations or towns in Wilts as occupied by the Romans. These were—*Sorbiodunum*, or Old Sarum; *Cunetio*, the site of which has been traced, by Roman antiquities found there, at Folly Farm, close by Marlborough; and *Verlucio*, which for similar reasons has been fixed at Highfield, in Sandy-lane, near Heddington, in the neighbourhood of Calne. A few centuries later every county bordering on Wilts had some chief city, or, as it was commonly termed, the *ceaster* (in after times the *chester*), of course from the Latin word *castrum*, literally an encampment. You will, however, find no town in Wiltshire with such an appellation, though in Hants you have *Wintan-ceaster*, or Winchester; in Berkshire, *Sil-chester*; in

Gloucestershire, Ciren-cester and *Glou-cester*; in Dorsetshire, *Dor-chester*; and in Somersetshire, *Bathan-ceaster*, or Bath and Il-chester. These facts would lead us naturally to the conclusion, which experience amply confirms, that there are very few Roman imprints to be found in the local nomenclature of Wilts.

At a place called Whitewalls, in the parish of Easton Grey and at Brokenborough, some traces of Roman work have been found, which will be fully noticed in another portion of this History.

The original name of Brokenborough was Cad-bury. Whenever we meet with "Câd" it implies that a battle has been fought on the spot, and a "Battle-mound,"—"Cad-bury"—erected for the fallen. Câd occurs in almost every county in England. *Caer-durburg*, the name of the Saxon Royal Palace at Brokenborough, also indicates its origin to the British.

As the Foss does not help us to fix the Romans at Malmesbury, we must go the next period, when in truth its most important history really begins.

THE ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD, A.D. 449.

The first of the Saxons who visited Britain were Hengist and Horsa, accompanied by about 5,000 men, who came in compliance to an invitation sent them by Vortigen the Chief-King of the Britains, who required their services in expelling the Scots and Picts who had invaded the Island and had advanced as far as Lincolnshire. The joint forces boldly marched against the invaders, and soon gained a complete victory over them. They then obtained according to the treaty the fertile Isle of Thanet, and a plentiful supply of provisions and clothing. They served the Britons faithfully during six years; when being sensible of the fruitful plains and the wealthy towns of the county to which

they came, and the barrenness of that which they had left behind, they soon contrived to quarrel with the Britons; and being reinforced by fresh bands of their countrymen, completely vanquished them, and the conquest terminated in their remaining masters of Kent.

Though we call Hengist and his followers Saxons, they were, properly speaking, Jutes from the peninsular of Jutland. Their neighbours and confederate tribes in Germany were the Saxons and Angles, who soon hastened to follow their example and make conquests in Britain.

As the Angles and Saxons were much more numerous than the Jutes, the people in general were named Anglo-Saxons, which name may also signify the Saxons of England as distinguished from those of Germany

KINGDOMS FOUNDED BY THE INVADERS.

The Saxons who came to Britain in 449 were heathens and idolators when they came. They crept into possession of Britain by degrees and after a great deal of hard fighting, and as they won, they divided it into several small kingdoms.

A Saxon Chief, named Ella, conquered the country west of Kent, A.D. 454, the kingdom which he founded there was named Sussex, or South Saxony. Another Saxon Chief, named Cerdic, landed to the west of Sussex, and formed the kingdom of Wessex, or West Saxony; comprising all the country from Somerset to Berkshire inclusive. A.D. 519. This kingdom united to itself the whole English Monarchy. A third Saxon Chief, named Eswyn, formed the kingdom of Essex, or East-Saxony; and of Middlesex, or Middle Saxony, A.D. 537. The Angles followed and settled more to the north: their first kingdom founded was East Anglia, comprising the South-folk or Suffolk, and the North-folk or Norfolk, by Uffa, A.D. 575;

they also established themselves north of the Humber. Their possessions there were called by the general name of Northumbra, or North-Humber-land. The present midland counties were called Mercia, that is *march*—or border-land, as lying next to the territories of the independent Britons. This kingdom was founded A.D. 587. Wiltshire formed West Saxony, or Wessex. Malmesbury formed the northern boundary of Wessex; the next kingdom to it being Mercia. This was the last kingdom founded by the *Angles*.

The old British name of Bladon disappeared with the old Britons themselves, and the Saxons called this place Ingle-burne.

The hill and its two rivers made the situation as useful to the Saxons as it had been to the ancient Britons; and when the kingdom of Wessex was completed, Ingleburne became important as one of its frontier military posts. In that capacity it was rather roughly used.

The kingdoms established by the Saxons has been customarily called *The Saxon Heptarchy*, as this term means *seven* independent governments, it must be rejected, however familiar by usage, because an idea is thereby conveyed which is erroneous. At no period of our history were there ever *seven* kingdoms independent of each other. As the Anglo-Saxons warred with each other, sometimes, one state was for a time absorbed by another, sometimes, after an interval, it emerged again. If that term ought to be used which expresses the complete establishment of the Anglo-Saxons, it should be Octarchy; if not, then the denomination must vary as the tide of conquest fluctuated. If the collective governments are to be denominated from the nations who peopled them, as there were three, the general term should be *Triarchy*, but it is obvious that Octarchy is the appellation that best suits the historical truth.

The conquests of the Saxons replunged Britain into that state of barbarism from which it had been raised by the Romans. On many occasions towns and villages, with their inhabitants, were involved in the same ruin,—the captives without distinction of rank, age, or sex, were divided with the lands among the conquerors, and their children very frequently sold as slaves.

CONVERSION OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

The Anglo-Saxons, as the conquerors of Britain are usually named, were, as we before stated, heathens at the time they invaded it, and more than a century elapsed before the Christian Faith was preached to them. The Christian religion had not yet succeeded in abolishing slavery; and as a pious ecclesiastic named Gregory was passing through the slave-market at Rome, his attention was arrested by some boys with flaxen hair and blooming complexion who were offered for sale. He asked the slave-dealer what was their country? Being told that they were Angles from Britain, he said in Latin, the language then spoken at Rome, "With reason are they so called, for they are fair as *angels*." But from what province of Britain are they?" "From Deira," (a part of the kingdom of Mercia.) "Deira," said he, "that is good; they must be delivered from the wrath (*deira*) of God." "But what is the name of their king?" "Ella," "Ella." "Then Allelujah should be sung in his dominions." He forthwith resolved to go to Britain as a missionary, and he obtained the Pope's permission; but the people of Rome valued him too highly to permit his departure.

Some years after Gregory himself became pope, and he then resolved to put his project for the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons into execution. He selected a monk, named Augustine, and sent him with forty companions to Britain.

They landed in the Isle of Thanet A.D. 596. The missionaries solicited an interview with Ethelbert, King of Kent, which request he granted. They addressed the King, and explained to him the articles of their faith: Ethelbert gave them permission to preach to his subjects, and assured them of his protection. He gave up his own palace to the missionaries, and the present cathedral of Canterbury stands, it is said, on the site of the church which they built.

SECTION III.

THE CONVENT OF NUNS AT MALMESBURY IN THE FIFTH CENTURY—SETTLEMENT OF MAELDULPH NEAR THE TOWN—ESTABLISHMENT OF A MONASTERY—ITS VALUE—BENEFACTORS TO THE MONASTERY—OF THE BUILDING AND FIRST ENDOWMENT OF THE ABBEY—DEED OF LUTHERIUS—SUCCESSION OF ALDHELM TO THE ABBACY—DESCRIPTION OF THE ABBEY—ITS OFFICES—ACCOUNT OF THE RELIGIOUS SERVICES—THE OFFICERS BELONGING TO THE ABBEY.

THERE was, says Leland, in his *Collectanea*, ii., p. 302, a house of nuns (at Malmesbury), in the fifth century, close by the Castle of Ingelbourne, in a hamlet called Ilanburgh, by the Saxons termed Burghton (now Burton Hill.) That it was the second establishment for extent and importance in the West of England. They were under the direction of Benedict, founder of the monastery of Benedictines at Naples, the first monastery of the West. They were charged with acts of incontinence with the soldiers of the castle, and so were all expelled by the Archbishop of the Saxons." That this monastery really existed there is no question, for the ancient British Historian Gildas Cormae, who was born A.D. 516, lived and died in it. Like other buildings of that age, it was constructed of wood, while holes in the walls served as windows, though horn may have been used to keep out the rain, and admit a little light. (The barbarous Saxons had succeeded in thoroughly destroying all Roman civilization, and hence when in the 5th, 6th, and 7th centuries glass was required for windows

it had to be fetched from Gaul.) The Saxons not only dispersed the inmates of this convent, but in their heathendom and in order to exterminate every trace of religion, burnt alike the churches and dwellings of these British Christians.

The monks were not content with chanting matins and vespers in their primitive wooden church, but after the fashion of their tribe, they yearly enlarged the borders of their phylacteries, adding acre to acre of pasture and woodland, to use their own words, *terram in plano et bosco*, and in return granted to the donors any amount of *pardon* for any amount of *sin*, provided the broad acres were prime meadow, and the woodland well stocked with oak.

Not long after the suppression of this early British monastery, Providence guided the steps of Maeldulph to this spot; he is called by some of the chroniclers an Irishman, by others a Scot, but we will say Irish-Scot. And so to call him, is in fact to call him what he really was. For the country now called Scotland was not so named in the days alluded to. Its name was then North Britannia, or Caledonia. These Scots were a people of Ireland, and about the year 500, some of them migrated into Caledonia, taking their name with them. Such of them as remained in Ireland would be distinguished as Irish-Scots, and one of these was Maeldulph. Struck with the similarity of the wild woodland to that of his own native country, and its suitability for the retired life of a hermit, he determined to settle here. The king's palace and his manor were near at hand, in that part of the town called Burnivale. He asked permission to build himself a cell (*tugurium*) under Caer-Bladon, *i.e.* the castle on the *Bladon*, the name given to the river flowing by Malmesbury, now known by the generic term of the Avon. He was poor,—and hence, as his learning was great for those days, he established a school

for his maintenance. Some chroniclers suppose that he was only a sort of hedge-schoolmaster, a collector of ragged scholars: but it is certain that he was a person of great learning, because we find that among his scholars he reckoned one whom the King of Wessex was proud to call his relative, the celebrated Aldhelm. King's relatives do not go to ragged schools. We may, therefore, without extravagance claim on behalf of Maeldulph the character of an accomplished missionary; and further, that 1200 years ago, Maldulfsbury was the best school in the kingdom of Wessex. This school gradually developed into a sort of college, and the next step was to live under rules of discipline. He built a small "*basilica*," and became its first Abbot in 677. His monastery, if such indeed we may call it, was after all but a voluntary association hardly subject to rules, and held together by similarity of views and feelings among those who became members of it, and a common reverence for their teacher. Indeed, for some centuries after this time, the word "*monasterium*" frequently means only a church, with three or four priests attached to it. The most illustrious of Maeldulph's disciples was the above named Aldhelm, a relation of Ina, King of Wessex, more distinguished for his literary acquirements, and the sanctity of his life, than for his royal ancestry. Through his influence the monastery obtained the interest of Leutherius, Bishop of the West Saxons. The town of Malmesbury belonged to Leutherius, and was given by him to the monastery.

The following is the Charter relating to that donation:—

"I, Leutherius, by Divine permission, Bishop Supreme of the Saxon See, am earnestly requested by the Abbots who, within the jurisdiction of our Diocese, preside over the conventual assemblies of monks with pastoral anxiety, to give and to grant that portion of land called Maeldulfesburg to Aldhelm the priest, for the purpose of leading a life according to strict rule; in which place, indeed, from earliest infancy and first initiation in the study of

learning, he has been instructed in the liberal arts, and passed his days, nurtured in the bosom of the holy mother church; and on which account fraternal love appears principally to have conceived this request. Wherefore assenting to the petition of the aforesaid Abbots, I willingly grant that place to him and his successors, who shall sedulously follow the laws of the holy institution. Done publicly near the River Bladon; this eighth before the kalends of September, in the year of our Lord's incarnation, 672."*

Their humble house was in a few years transformed into all the magnificent complication of a great Abbotial structure; endowed by Saxon Bishops and Saxon Kings.

Before we proceed farther I will allude to one or two points which it may be useful to bear in mind. The edifices now commonly called Malmesbury, Westminster, or Bath Abbey, were only the Abbey Churches. An Abbey is properly the domestic buildings occupied by the monks. Of the *real* Westminster or Bath Abbey not one stone is left upon another. It is only the Abbey-church that we see. There is just the same difference at Oxford and Cambridge between a College and College-chapel.

And whilst making distinctions, there is a second which it may be useful to understand. You read of the *secular* clergy and the *regular* clergy. The difference in the meaning of the names is simply this. The parish clergymen are *secular* clergy, because they live in *sæculo*, *i.e.*, in the world, in *general* society. The regulars were the monks, who lived, not in parishes, but shut up in monasteries *ad-regulam*, *i.e.*, according to the regulation and discipline of their order. The monks had nothing whatever to do with the spiritual care of parishes. If, as was very often the case, they possessed the tithes of a parish, they employed some secular clergyman, out of their house, to do the parish duty and work; and him they called their vicar, or representative.

The monastic Order living apart by themselves and

* Wills of Malm. Chron., p. 29.

under rules of their own, always desired to escape from the authority of the Bishops, who were the heads of the secular clergy. They wished to depend upon the Pope: and in this they very often succeeded. But it was the cause of continual jealousy in the dioceses: and, at last, one of the reasons for breaking up the monasteries altogether.

In after times when the Abbots of Malmesbury became in North Wilts powerful rivals to the Bishops of Sarum in South Wilts, the Bishops of Sarum did their best to put an end to the rivalry by uniting the Abbacy with the Bishoprick. It is generally supposed that the Bishops merely wished to transfer the See to Malmesbury, but the fact really was, that not liking this rival power in the North which set their authority at defiance, they wished to have the Abbacy of Malmesbury merged in the Bishoprick of Sarum.

We *proceed with the History*. It is generally supposed that the name of the town is derived from Maeldulf—Maeldulf'sbyrig, softened down in the course of centuries to Malmesbury. Bishop Gibson in his edition of the Saxon Chronicle, carries us however a step further, and argues, from the form with which he meets in the Saxon and other manuscripts,—sometimes *Maeldemcsbyrig*, sometimes *Aldelmesburh*,—that the word contains something of *Maeldulf*, and something of *Aldhelm*, and is a compound made out of both these names. It is styled by William of Malmesbury *Malmesburia* and *Monasteruim*; in Domesday-book *Mamesberie* and *Malmesberee*; and by Leland, *Malmesbyre*. That Bede calls this place “*Maeldulphurbs*,” and that such a designation was acquiesced in by others, it is true; but its earliest name, after the introduction of Christianity into Wessex, was certainly *Mel-dunes-berg*,—and in Latin we have the form “*Meldunense-Monasteruim*,”—as though the root of the word in Anglo-Saxon was

mæl-dún, that is the "hill of the cross,"—or as we might say—"church hill."*. That these two forms were at one time regarded as distinct names, is clear from an expression in a charter of Edgar in 975, in which the two names are given with the passing comment—"quod Angli *biphario* vocitant onomate." Of course it is by no means contended that these two names may not have had something to do in modifying the name of the town, still a suggestion is hazarded, that as *Caer-Bladon* was its name in British times,—and *Ingle-bourne* when the English arrested it from its first possessors,—so *Mal-dunes-berg* may possibly mark the period when once more the Christian church was planted here, and the doctrine of the Cross again permitted to be proclaimed to those who lived in this part of the country. There is, at all events, an analogous name at no great distance from this place. What is now termed *Christian Malford* was originally *Christes-mæl-ford*, *i.e.*, the ford by the "Christ's-cross."

Aldhelm, the chief of Maeldulph's disciples, was admitted into the honorable office of Abbot of the Monastery of Malmesbury A.D. 672. We do not learn that at this time Maeldulph was dead; indeed as far as we can obtain a clear account from the fragmentary and often conflicting statements of chroniclers, he would seem to have lived some fourteen years after Aldhelm's formal appointment as Abbot, and to have submitted himself, as a member of the society, to the rule of his former disciple.

Aldhelm may be considered the founder of the Abbey of Malmesbury. His own wealth and interest enabled him to endow it with a good estate, so large that it is said it would take a man a good part of the day, if he set out in the morning, to go round the borders.

* The town of *Maldon* in Essex is derived from mæl-dún.

He enlarged Maeldulph's small "*basilica*," into a more noble church ("augustiore") dedicated to "The Holy Saviour, and the Apostles Peter and Paul." This church was used by the monks, and it was regarded by them as the principle one, the "*Caput Loci*."* Aldhelm built within the precincts of the Monastery another church, dedicated to St. Mary; but that of the Holy Saviour, Peter and Paul," continued to be the "*Caput Loci*." Aldhelm also built, contiguous to St. Mary's a smaller church or chapel in honor of St. Michael. Of this chapel, William of Malmesbury who died A.D. 1143 says that some traces were only visible in his time; but that the spacious structure of the larger church (St. Mary's) lasted down to his time in all its glory, and uncontaminated by alteration, and that in size and beauty it exceeded any of the religious edifices of England.

A very curious fact relating to Malmesbury Abbey is, that in the year 700 it had an organ. This was the first organ used in England, and was built under the directions of Aldhelm, who has left in his writings a description of it in verse, as "a mighty instrument with innumerable tones, blown with bellows, and enclosed in a gilded case." The instrument, however, which was most in use among the Saxons was the harp. The kings thought it a part of their state to entertain harpers at their court. It was considered almost a necessary accomplishment of the educated in the middle ranks of society to be ready to sing a song at an entertainment, when the harp was passed round. This custom and practice Aldhelm endeavoured to perform, or to adapt to the service of religion. When he resided as Abbot at Malmesbury, finding that the people who came to hear Divine service were in a great hurry to return with-

* New Monasticon, Charter vi., ix., and xiii.

out paying much attention to the sermon, he used to go and take his seat, with harp in hand, on the bridge over the Avon, and offer to teach the art of singing. Here a crowd soon gathered round him; and after he had indulged the common taste by singing some trifling song, by degrees he drew them on to more serious matter, and succeeded at last in making them sing David's psalms to David's strings. The good service of Aldhelm in this particular is placed beyond a doubt by the late discovery of a Saxon version of the Psalms, which was preserved in an old French monastery, where it remained without being of much use to the French monks, who thought the old English letters were Hebrew. It has escaped all the French revolutions since, and is now in the French king's library at Paris; from which a copy has been taken and printed by the University of Oxford, A.D. 1835.

In 705 Aldhelm was appointed Bishop of the See of Sherborne, the diocese of which comprised the counties of Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall. He died A.D. 709, in the discharge of his duty, as he was visiting his diocese. Finding a mortal stroke upon him, he caused his attendants to remove him into the nearest village—Church—a little wooden church at Doultling, near Shepton-Mallet in Somcrsetshire,—where, commending his soul to God, he tranquilly breathed his last. His body was brought to Malmesbury, and buried in the chapel of St. Michael, which Aldhelm himself had built. Stone crosses were erected as memorials at intervals along the road by which they bare him to his burial, some of which remained in the days of William of Malmesbury. The monks in order to be closer to the place of his interment removed their services from the Church of the Holy Saviour, Peter and Paul, to St. Mary's Church. He was canonized a saint, and his Festival Day (March 31) was celebrated by holding a great feast,

which was held in St. Aldhelm's Mead, situate westward of King's Wall, but it has long been discontinued. The life of this distinguished personage will be fully recorded in the biographical portion of this History; for there are few to whom we really owe more, as regards the establishment of Christianity in Wessex, than to the great man whom the chroniclers designate as "the good Aldhelm;" the first of that long line of Bishops, who, now for well nigh eight centuries, have had their See at Sarum.

A few years after the construction of a regular monastery here, its revenues were greatly increased by endowments from various sources; and the Anglo-Saxons improved in civilization and power by the introduction of Christianity. In regard to the secular affairs of Malmesbury at this time, its history is but a wearisome repetition of petty kingdom fighting against petty kingdom, Wessex defeating Mercia to-day and Mercia victorious to-morrow. The following brief extracts will suffice to show the frequency of contests at this time:—Cealwin, King of Wessex, seized the kingdom of Sussex on the death of its sovereign Cissa, A.D. 514. By annexing it to Wessex, he changed the Saxon octarchy into a temporary *heptarchy*. Cerdic, King of the West Saxons, made an attempt to gain Somersetshire, but was defeated with great loss by King Arthur at Caer-Badon, near Bath, to which he laid siege in 520. It was in opposing Cerdic that the celebrated Arthur acquired his fame. He was a commander of great valour; and, could courage alone have repaired the miserable state of the Britons, his might have been effectual. According to the most authentic historians, he worsted the Saxons in twelve successive battles. Cealwin, King of Wessex, was defeated by the united forces of the Britons and Saxons, under Ceolric, who had rebelled against him. This battle took place at Wanborough, a village about three miles east of

Swindon, in 550. Ethelbert, King of Kent, invaded Wessex, A.D. 568, but was repelled with ignominy and loss by Cealwin, King of Wessex. Cenwalch, King of Wessex, is driven from the throne by Pendry in 672, who keeps possession of Wessex for three years. Caedwalla, first Christian King of Wessex, subjugates Kent and Sussex in 685. And as each of these kings lost or won, so this monastery on the frontier was banded from one to the other. Or else the Bishop of Wessex would seize and enjoy its estates for years together. In truth more than once it was almost extinct.

BENEFACTORS TO THE MONASTERY.

The first benefactor was Ethelred, King of Mercia, who, at the request of his kinsman Cænfrith, Earl of Mercia, endowed it, in 681, with 30 hides of land, with the Tithes and Parsonage of the Church of Newnton * (a hide of land is 120 acres), and also 20 hides of land with the Tithes and Chapel at Charlton.† At that time the country between Malmesbury, Cricklade, and Cirencester seems to have been in Mercia, not in Wessex as is generally supposed. The river Avon was the boundary. In the following year Cædwalla, King of Wessex, bestowed on Aldhelm an estate of 30 hides of land, described as being "on either side of the wood called Chemele" (Kemble), a gift which he considerably augmented some seven years after by a further grant of 35 hides of land on the east side of Braden, with the Parsonage and Tithes. His original gift was certainly a remarkable one, inasmuch as the Kings of Wessex had, after embracing Christianity, relapsed again into idolatry, and Cædwalla at the very time when he was endowing Aldhelm's monastery was himself a heathen. At all events

* New Monastieon Malmesbury, Charter vi., ix., and xiii.

† Wiltshire Col., Aubrey and Jackson, p. 212.

in the year 688—the very time it may be observed at which he enlarged his gift to Malmesbury—he went, accompanied by Aldhelm, to Rome, and was baptized by the Pope Sergius. We seem almost to infer from this circumstance that the conversion of the king was owing to the efforts of his earnest-minded kinsman, the Abbot of Malmesbury. Ethelwulf, the father of King Alfred, greatly befriended it and enlarged its possessions in 685 by endowing the monastery with five hides of land at Somerford Keynes, and 40 hides of land at Crudwell, including Eastcot—town (Estcourt), Hanekyn—town (Hankerton), and Morecot—town (Morecot.) Ethelwulf, by his will, disposed of the kingdom of Kent to his second son Ethelbert, and the kingdom of Wessex to Ethelbald, Ethelred, and Alfred, in the order of seniority, and directed his heirs to maintain one poor person for every tithing in his hereditary lands. He died in 857, having reigned twenty-one years, leaving behind him four sons and one daughter, who was married to Buthred, King of Mercia. Ethelbald, the eldest son, was already in possession of the kingdom of Wessex; and Ethelbert, his brother, succeeded to Kent, Essex, Surrey, and Sussex, comprised under the name of the kingdom of Kent. Although many learned writers have disputed the authenticity of the charter by which Ethelwulf granted the tithes of England to the clergy, we deem it necessary to give a copy of the document, as being important, from the rights founded upon it :—

“I Ethelwulf, by the grace of God, King of the West Saxons, by the advice of the bishops, earls, and other persons of distinction in my dominions, have, for the health of my soul, the good of my people, and the prosperity of my kingdom, taken the prudent and serviceable resolution of granting the tenth part of my lands throughout my whole kingdom to the church and ministers of religion, to be enjoyed by them with all the privileges of free tenure, and discharged from all services due to the crown, and all incumbrances incidental to lay fees. This gift has been made by us to the church in honour of Jesus Christ, the blessed Virgin, and all Saints, and out of regard to the Paschal

solemnity, and that Almighty God might vouchsafe His blessing to us and our posterity.

“Dated at the Palace of Wilton, in the year 854,
indication the second, at the feast of Easter.”

Ina, King of Wessex, gave to the monastery the manors of Cowfolde (Cole Park), Rodborne (Rodbourne), Corston, and Burton (Burton Hill), Bremlem (Bremelham), and part of Grittenham, with the appurtenances in 701. He also confirmed a special grant made by Pope Sergius to Aldhelm and his successors for the immunity of his monasteries. Ina has the character of a peculiarly just and humane prince, and to have promulgated a code of laws in which Christianity was fully acknowledged as the basis of all moral and social obligations; and we can hardly doubt that to this important step Ina was urged by his friend and kinsman Aldhelm. Immediately after this, a desire for union and reconciliation was evinced by the Celtic Bishops, who expressed their readiness to yield on the question of Easter, *i.e.*, as to the right day for observing Easter, and many other objections were thus removed, and the fierceness and hatred that existed between the Saxons and the Britons, in a measure subsided. After a long reign as valiant king, legislator, and encourager of learning, he resigned his throne, turned monk, and made a pilgrimage to Rome, where he founded a Saxon school, and died in 728.

Moffatt, in his History of Malmesbury, says “there are no records relating to the affairs of the monastery between the reigns of Ina, in 701, and that of Athelstan, in 938.” Britton, in his Beauties of Wiltshire, also perpetuates a grave error in stating “that history is silent as regards the monastery during the time of Abbot Cuthbert, who succeeded Athelard in 793, and Ælfric, who was appointed Abbot by King Edgar in 974.”

The following events, however, prove that a great

deal may be said respecting its history during the periods spoken of, as the subjoined references to the doings of the various kings of Wessex and Mercia clearly illustrates, as well as to furnish us with the numerous changes that took place in its religious and secular history. It is impossible for so many and great changes to have taken place without the monastery and even the town itself being more or less affected by them :—

Ina, King of Wessex, defeated Geraint, King of the Britains A.D. 710. Ina abdicates in 728. Cuthred succeeds Ethelred in Wessex 741. A bloody battle was fought in 752 between the forces of Mercia and Wessex, in which the golden dragon, the standard of Mercia, was pierced, and the Mercians routed with immense slaughter. Ethelbald engaged for a time in a personal contest with the Wessex General, but at length turned and fled. Offa, King of Mercia, overthrows the armies of Wessex A.D. 755. He showed himself a thorough public pilferer by converting to his own use the lands of many churches, of which Malmesbury was one. Offa inhumanly murdered his son-in-law Ethelbert on the day of his nuptials, and annexed East-angla to his dominions. As an atonement for this crime, he imposed a tax of one penny on each family, to be paid annually to the Roman See—origin of Peter-pence. Egbert, son of Offa, restored the possessions which his father had taken from Malmesbury into the hands of Cuthbert, Abbot of the Monastery, in 790.

He received the crown of Wessex A.D. 800, and was soon involved in war with the Mercians, who invaded Wessex with a great army. Egbert met the invaders at Ellandune (Wilton) in 823, and obtained a complete victory. The war ended in the establishment of Egbert as King of all England, but he assumed no other title than King of the West Saxons. Ethelwulf, son of Egbert, came to the throne in

836. He was swayed by worldly avarice, and usurped what belonged to others, and by his intrigues seized the Monachy of Malmesbury for his own use in 849.

DREADFUL INVASION OF THE DANES, 866.

Twenty thousand Danes, led by the sons of Sadbrog, defeats the Northumbrians and subdue that kingdom in 867,—they ravage Nottingham and Lincolnshire, burn the churches and monasteries, putting the inmates to the sword without distinction of age or sex,—language cannot describe their devastations; it can only repeat the words plunder, murder, rape, famine, and distress,—they overrun Mercia and invade Wessex in 871. Alfred the Great was now called to the throne of Wessex. Within a month of his accession he was obliged to oppose the Danes, who had seized Wilton and were ravaging the country round. He fell upon them with a few troops, and fought a disastrous battle. This made the ninth great battle which had been fought this year in Wessex. The invaders at length became masters of the Octarchy; but it was insufficient to satisfy the hordes who were continually pouring in upon the devoted island, with the design of settling; and an expedition was was consequently planned with the greatest secrecy against Wessex. The attack took place so suddenly that Alfred was ill prepared to meet it. Chippenham and Malmesbury was taken, and burnt in 872. Alfred's troops being defeated he makes peace with the invaders by giving them a large sum of money. They, by this treaty, agreed to leave the kingdom of Wessex. In 874 the Danes again began hostilities against Wessex. After several disasters, Alfred made a *second* peace, by which they engage to depart from Wessex, 877; but, instead of complying with their engagements, they only removed from one place to another, burning and destroying wherever they went. Alfred

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Through the influence of Alfred, another learned Scot named Johannes Scotus, came to the Monastery of Malmesbury, but for some reason or other this second missionary was unpopular. He came distinguished as the author of a book, called a "Treatise on the Division of Nature, extremely useful in solving the perplexities of certain in-

dispensable enquiries." But the youths belonging to the school or college of Malmesbury made short work of his enquiries and himself, for they set upon and stabbed him to death with the steel instruments used in those days for writing. He was looked upon as a martyr, and was buried in the first Abbey-church dedicated to the Holy Saviour, St. Peter and Paul, a small one which stood on the left side of the altar, near the south transept of the present church. The following lines of his epitaph record his fame:—

"Here lies a saint, the sophist John, whose days
On earth were graced with deepest learnings praise :
Deem'd meet at last by martyrdom to gain
Christ's kingdom, where the saints for ever reign."

During the reigns of Egbert and his successors, the whole country and especially the monasteries suffered from the ravages of the pagan Danes, this monastery did not escape the general devastation. King Athelstan greatly befriended it in 930. He endowed it with 30 hides of land at Chemele (Kemble), 5 hides at Horton (Norton), and Euclme, and also the estate of Alfred, a nobleman who had lands in Wiltshire, which was confiscated on account of the conspiracies into which he entered against the prince. Alfred had taken private measures to seize Athelstan at Winchester, and put out his eyes; his machinations being discovered, he was apprehended by the king's order, but would confess nothing; he obstinately persisted in protesting his innocence, and offered to purge himself by oath in the presence of the pope, an ordeal looked upon in that age as infallible in discovering the truth, since he who was rash or wicked enough to forswear himself, was certain, according to the superstition of the time, to meet with a signal punishment. Athelstan agreed to this, and sent him to Rome to take the oath before Pope John. We are told that he approached the altar of St. Peter and took the oath, which he had no sooner

done than he fell down before it in a fit. He was taken by his servants to the English college, where he died three days afterwards. The Pope, with the consent of Athelstan, ordered that he should be buried in consecrated ground. The circumstance which attended the death of Alfred was considered as having sealed and confirmed his guilt, and his property was confiscated and given to Malmesbury monastery, and the king had inserted in the grant an account of the whole conspiracy "to testify to the world that he dedicated to God what was not his own." * But the donation deemed most valuable was this :—Athelstan, among the presents from Hugh, King of France, had received the sword of Constantine the Great, in the hilt whereof was one of the nails which fastened Christ to the Cross, and the spear of Charles the Great, reputed to be the same that pierced Christ's side ; likewise part of the wood which composed the identical cross of Christ enclosed in crystal ; and part of the crown of thorns which he wore, enclosed in the same manner. These were for several centuries so much venerated by all ranks of people as to attract a large number of devotees, and William the Historian says they contributed largely to its prosperity.

The estates which he gave to the monks at Norton, Somerford, and elsewhere, has long since passed into other hands ; but King's Heath still belongs to those to whom King Athelstan gave it, "the Burgesses of Malmesbury, and their successors for ever."

But what, in the year 930, had the burgesses done to deserve a perpetual gift of 500 acres of land ? They had done that which of course they are ready to do again should

* Extracted from the Grant of Athelstan to the Abbot and Convent of Malmesbury.

another invader come, and it was in recognition of these services that Athelstan made the grant, which is contained in the following Charter of his :—

“I, ATHELSTAN, King of England, for me and my successors, do grant to the Burgesses of Malmesbury, and their successors, that they have and enjoy all their Liberties and Privileges as fully as they had them from Edward, my father. And I command all under my power that they do them no wrong, and that they be free from the charge of Burgbate, Wardwaite, Horngelt, Scot, and Lot ;* and I grant them five Hides of Land, lying near my little town of Norton, for their aid given me in my Battle against the Danes. Signed with my Seal, in the presence of Edmund, my brother, by the advice of Wolsin, my Chancellor, and Odo, my Treasurer, and Godwin, my Standard Bearer ; who procured this for the Burgesses.”

That the above is a true copy of the charter may be gathered from the following certificate which was declared in 1747 :—

“This is to certify all persons whom it may concern that this is a true English Copy of King Athelstan’s Charter to the Borough of Malmesbury, in the County of Wilts, and that the bearer hereof, John Smith, is one of the said Borough of Malmesbury. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the Common Seal of the same Borough, this 28th day of August, in the year of our Lord, 1747.

WILLIAM CLARK, Alderman.”

According to Leland, the battle was fought at Sodbury Hill, fourteen miles from Malmesbury. This is a mistake, for the only battle recorded as having taken place there was that between King Edmond Ironside and his Danish competitor Canute, in 1016. Mr. Hobbes, speaking of Athelstan, as rewarding the people of Malmesbury for their bravery in an encounter between them and the Danes, in which much Danish blood was spilt, considers that the fight took place near the town. Aubrey says “by the town is a hill called Danes-hill.” That “Winni” is the name of the

* A kind of county-rates, levied for the repair of town-walls and bridges, but which were often paid, like other taxes in those times, by personal service and labour,

place where King Athelstan vanquished the Danes. By Winni is meant the place now called "Wynyard," on the S.E. side of the town, close by the side of the river Avon. This is in close proximity to a place called "War-Ditch," and we may consider that it was at this place where the inhabitants of the town displayed their valour in conquering the Danes. We do not read of more than one battle having been fought between Athelstan and the Danes in or near the town, and as this place has been called "War-Ditch" ever since the occurrence, we shall point to it as the identical battle field. If anything more was considered necessary for a further confirmation of the fact, we may point to the numerous weapons of war and other indications which has been found precisely upon the spot.

The following brief account of the battle may prove interesting :—

So fierce was the attack that it nearly ended in a general engagement between the whole of the forces on both sides (the Danes and the Saxons), but Hyrngr, one of the Danish leaders, having been slain, his followers gave way, and the combat was discontinued. This was only a prelude to the great battle, which took place the next day, and which lasted till sunset. Athelstan arranged all his forces for a decisive engagement. Anlaff did the same. Athelstan formed his array of battle. In the front he placed his bravest troops with Egils at their head. The warriors of Mercia were conducted by the valiant Turketul, the chancellor of the kingdom. Athelstan chose his own West Saxons to endure the struggle with Anlaff, his competitor. Anlaff, observing his disposition, in part imitated it. He obeyed the impulse of his hopes and courage, and placed himself against Athelstan. Thorolf began the battle; his

courage was too impetuous and indiscriminate; his eagerness for the fray impelled him beyond his companions. Both were pressing fiercely and blindly onward, when Adils darted forward and destroyed Thorolf. Egils heard the outcries of alarm, and saw the banner of Thorolf retreating. Satisfied from this circumstance that Thorolf was not with it, he flew to the spot, encouraged his party, and renewed the battle, in which he was slain. At this crisis, while the conflict was raging with all the obstinacy of determined patriotism and courageous ambition; when missile weapons had been mutually abandoned; when foot was planted against foot, shield against shield, and manual vigour was exerted with every energy of destruction; when chiefs and vassals were perishing in the all-levelling confusion of war, and the numbers cut down were fiercely supplied with new crowds of warriors hastening to become victims, the chancellor Turketul made an attack. He formed his chosen troops into a firm compact body, and placing his vast muscular figure at their head, he rushed impetuously on his prey. The hostile ranks fell before him, every heart beat vehemently; every arm was impatient to rescue or take the prince (Constantine's son) who was just about to be released when he fell a victim of war. New courage rushed into the bosoms of the Saxons on this event. Grief and panic as suddenly overwhelmed their enemies. The Scots in consternation withdrew, and Turketul triumphed in his hard-earned victory. Athelstan and his brother Edmund were, during these events, engaged with Anlaff. In the hottest season of the conflict, the sword of Athelstan broke at the handle, while his enemies were pressing fiercely upon him. He was speedily supplied with another, and after the battle had raged a long time, Turketul suddenly charged upon Anlaff's rear. It was then

that his determined bands began to be shaken; slaughter thinned their ranks; many fled, and the Saxons cried out "Victory!" Athelstan exhorted his men to profit by the auspicious moment. He commanded his banner to be carried into the midst of the enemy. He made a deep impression on their front, and a general panic followed. The soldiers of Anlaff fled on every side, and the pursuit filled the plain with their bodies. Among the Anglo-Saxons it excited such rejoicings that their poets aspired to commemorate it, and the songs were so popular that one of them is inserted in the Saxon Chronicle, as the best memorial of the event.

A "Bruera," or rough pasture, near the Manor called Brendeheth (now Burnt Heath farm) was given by King Athelstan for sustaining one chaplain to pray for the souls of the King and the Burgesses.

In 931 Athelstan also gave the Manors of Lea and Cleverton to the Monastery.

The hero-worship of Malmesbury is that of Athelstan for those who have their common-rights say that they owe them all to him; the humble children who are taught in an ancient building called "Hall of Saint John," connect their instruction with the memory of Athelstan, who wished that they may be taught, and left a donation of ten pounds per annum for that purpose.

His two nephews, killed in the great battle with the Danes at Brunanburh, were brought hither, and buried at the head of the sepulchre of their relative St. Aldhelm, which would be in the chapel of St. Michael. The King himself dying at Gloucester in 941, was also buried at Malmesbury, under the altar: or as William of Malmesbury says "at the altar of St. Mary, in the tower." William of

Malmesbury, the historian, who supplies these particulars, was the librarian of the monastery here 200 years after Athelstan's time. He tells us that upon one occasion he saw the King's body in the coffin; that he had been of becoming stature, thin in person, with flaxen hair, and beautifully wreathed with threads of gold.

In 958 King Edwy ascended the throne, whom the monks describe as a foolish young man, No wonder, for he hated monasteries. He expelled the monks from all the monasteries in England, and placed the secular priests in their room. This change is described by one of the ejected in the following language—"He sent the monks away, and the monastery was turned into a *sty* for secular Cannons." The Abbey of Malmesbury was one of the benefices of which the monks were dispossessed on this occasion, after having been inhabited by monks for more than two hundred and seventy years. Nevertheless, the monks were a match for King Edwy. A happy thought struck them. They took out of its coffin the body of his great relative St. Aldhelm, who had been dead more than two hundred and fifty years, and exhibited it in a shrine. The effect was wonderful. The King not only relented, but immediately restored the monks; and to make up for his former misbehaviour, he actually bestowed upon them by far the largest gift they had ever yet received, the Manor of Brokenborough; a name which must have included in those days a great deal more than it does now, for it appears to have comprised several of our modern parishes all round Malmesbury.

The bounds of this grant are given with great minuteness (see Archæologia, vol. xxxvii., p. 266), but so many names are extinct that it is difficult to follow them. In order to give those who are acquainted with the neighbour-

hood some notion of the general extent, it may suffice to say that the manor, commencing from the river Avon, near Rodbourne, and including Starkeley, ranged by Bincombe in the direction of the Foss: then northward of Malmesbury, nearly as far as Kemble: then S.E. by Chelworth, Eastcourt, and Woburn, to the skirts of Braden Forest, and so back to the Avon near Dauntsey. He also gave to the monastery ten hides of land at Sutton Benger, in 958. The manors of Dauntsey and Toekehan (Tockenham) was also given to the monastery at this time:

In the short reign of Edwy, the monks of Malmesbury became involved in the quarrel between the King and the famous Dunstan, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, which was the cause of their being expelled as above stated. In 958 Dunstan removes the silver shrine made by Ethelwulf, King of Wessex, to contain the bones of Aldhelm from St. Michael's chapel, and places it in the chapel of St. Mary. Edgar, the successor of Edwy, entrusted the sole management of ecclesiastical affairs to Dunstan, and under his auspices the monks had all their privileges restored, and Malmesbury Abbey from that time was ruled by a regular series of abbots till the general suppression of monasteries at the Reformation. The monks joyfully raised their heads again, and this monastery recovered all liberties and lands that had been taken from it, particularly that of Estcourt, near Crudwell. In the Charter dated 974, by which King Edgar restored that estate, he says, "*Considering what offering I should make from my earthly kingdom to the King of Kings, I resolve to re-build all the holy monasteries throughout my kingdom, which as they are outwardly ruinous with mouldering shingles and worm-eaten boards even to the rafters, so, which is still worse, they have been internally neglected and almost destitute of the service of God. Wherefore,*

ejecting these illiterate clerks (the seculars), subject to the discipline of no regular order, in many places I have appointed pastors of a holier race, that is, of the monastic order, supplying them with ample means out of my royal revenues to repair their churches wherever dilapidated. One of these pastors, by name Ælfric, I have appointed guardian (*i.e.* Abbot) of that most celebrated monastery which the Angles call by the twofold name of Maldelmsburg."

This is, I believe, the only instance where the name is so written, and it looks as if the writer derived it from the joint names of Maeldulph and Aldhelm.

It has been thought by some historians that the aforementioned Abbot Ælfric added to the monastery a second church, called St. Mary's, and by others that he only rebuilt the church of St. Mary's which Aldhelm had built.

It does not seem altogether clear, whether this Abbot Ælfric added to the monastery a second church, called St. Mary's, or whether he only rebuilt a church of St. Mary which Aldhelm had built. William of Malmesbury in one passage of his history * (speaking of Edgar's reign) says, "Moreover it may be necessary to observe, that at this time—959—the church of St. Peter was the chief of the monastery which now (*i.e.* in the Historian's own time, *c.* 1139) is deemed second only: the church of St. Mary which the monks at present frequent was *built* afterwards in the time of King Edgar, under Abbot Elfric." But from the account given of the matter by the same historian in another of his works† it would seem more likely that St. Mary's had already existed, and was only *restored* by Abbot

* Chronicles of the Kings of England, Bohn's Antiq. Library, p. 138.

† Lib. v., De Pontificibus.

Ælfric. According to various notices scattered through the work alluded to, the earliest church within the precincts of the monastery had been a "a very small basilica" in Maeldulph's time. This had been enlarged into a more important one by Aldhelm, who gave it the title of "The Church of the Holy Saviour and of the Apostles Peter and Paul." But Aldhelm not content with this, made a still larger one, called St. Mary's, which the historian says was remaining in his own days—1139—and was in size and beauty the noblest old church in England. The church of the "Holy Saviour, St. Peter, and St. Paul" was nevertheless not only left standing, but was duly considered as the chief church ("caput loci") down to Abbot Ælfric's time, the reign of King Edgar. Down to that period, gifts of land, &c., were made to the church of the "Holy Saviour, St. Peter and Paul." But from and after King Edgar's reign, St. Mary's (whether a fresh church, or an old one restored by Abbot Ælfric), became the "caput loci," or chief church. The present Abbey Church, also called St. Mary's, certainly covers the site and more than the site, of Abbot Ælfric's St. Mary's: but whether any part of that Abbot's actual building is still visible, is very questionable.* But that the older one of "St. Saviour, Peter, and Paul" still continued to stand, by the side of St. Mary's even to the time of the Dissolution of Monasteries, is very probable; for Leland, who visited Malmesbury in 1540, after describing the large Abbey Church, says "there was a little church joining to the south side of the transept of the Abbey Church, in which some said that John the Scot, the preceptor, was slain by his pupils in the time of King Alfred. Weavers have now looms in this little church, but it standeth and is

* Mr. Britton "could not persuade himself to believe that any material part of the present building was erected before the reign of Henry I." (*Arch. Antiq.* : i.

a very old piece of work."

It was during the reign of Ethelred in 1016 that the Danes again obtained a footing in England. Two of their chieftains, Sigeferth and Morcar, being seized and put to death at Oxford by Ethelred's order, the wife of Sigeferth, Elgive, a lady of much beauty, was carried prisoner to Malmesbury. The King's son, Edmund, afterwards called Ironside, hearing of her, took a journey hither, and, without his father's knowledge, made her his wife. A party of Danes breaks into the church. One of them going to knock off the stones from Athelstan's shrine, falls back on the floor as if shot. The rest make their escape; and though all other churches were despoiled, that of Malmesbury escapes. Langtoft, the chronicler, in mentioning this, calls the town Malmcestre.

After the death of Edmond Ironside there were three Danish Kings in England, and during their reigns, ending 1042, little is met with relating to the monastery. In the neighbourhood there was much fighting: and at a battle at Sherston some local hero of great eminence distinguished himself, whose memory still lives in that village under the name of "Rattlebone," perpetuated for the ocular gratification of the rustics by a hideous portrait over a public-house.

In 1042 Constantine, a refugee Archbishop residing in the monastery, devoted much of his time in making and planting a vineyard for the monks.

Edward, whose munificence to the monks in 1065 gained him the appellation of Confessor, confirmed the former donations to this monastery, and himself granted it great privileges. In his Charter he says, "All things that are written, observes the Apostle, are written for our learning, that by patience and consolation of the Holy Scriptures we may have hope. Therefore eternal durable joys are to

be purchased instead of earthly and fleeting ones, and good things are to be obtained by hope. For God himself will render retribution of all our actions in the day of examination, according to every one's desert. Wherefore I, Edward, through the Divine favour governing the royal sceptre of the English, being asked by Brithric, Abbot of the Monastery of Malmesbury, with the consent of my bishops and nobles, for the honour of the holy mother of God, Mary, perpetual virgin, and for reverence of Aldhelm, formerly Abbot of the same Monastery, afterwards Bishop of Sherborne; whose glorious body in the same church venerably repositeth, and shines, with many miracles, do grant, and by my royal authority do enjoin, that the same church, and all its lands and possessions which this day it holds, or hereafter by the bounty of any of my faithful people it may hold, in perpetual right, and in perpetual peace may hold. And I do grant and enjoin, that the same church be free from all wordly yoke, viz.: of shires and hundreds, and pleas, and quarrels, and all gelds and customs. I grant moreover to it full liberty, that is, *saca* and *soha*, *tol* and *theam*, *infangtheoffe*, *manbuche*,* &c. But whoever contemns it may be with hands and feet bound be plunged into the depth of hell."† A vacancy occurring in the Abbey of Malmesbury, Bishop Herman, of Sherborne, proposed to unite the Abbey of Malmesbury with the Bishoprick. The King consented, but the Monks defeated the scheme.

It was during the reign of Edward that the second fire took place which destroyed the monastery.

* *Saca*, *Soka*, &c., occur in most of the Monastic Charters, and imply manorial privileges common in feudal times of free liberty of sale or purchase in any part of England without paying tonnage and poundage. A similar Charter was granted to the town of Calne, by King Stephen.

† The original is in the register-book of the Abbey, now in the possession of the Marquis of Lansdowne.

William the Conqueror became a benefactor to the Monastery. His Charter contains heavy anthemas and curses against those of whatever degree or quality who should infringe or diminish the same, and a blessing to such as should increase or improve these gifts. He deposited there many valuable relics brought from Rouen, and also imported three Norman Abbots, one after another, to rule over it.* It is well-known that he was far from uniting zeal for religion with justice and humanity, which indeed he is said to have bitterly lamented in a dying hour. It is remarkable, that after what he had done in erecting and endowing monasteries, it was with difficulty that he could obtain a burying place in one of them. For history relates that when this famous monarch was about to be interred in the Abbey Church of Caen in Normandy, which he himself had founded, a certain person forbade the burial, because the ground where the church stood was *his*. And William of Malmesbury's son Henry, who was present, made this man satisfaction before the corps was buried.

Matilda, Queen of William the Conqueror, at the request of Abbot Warin, gave to the Monastery the Manor, Rectory, and Parsonage of Geresden (Garsdon), in return for which gracious act the Monks politely called her "the mirror of prudence and the pink of modesty." The King instituted

* The Rev. Dr. J. Milner, in his "Treatise on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of England," p. 44, says: "It appears from William of Malmesbury that some great and extensive works were carried on at the church of his Monastery by its Norman Abbots, particularly by Warin de Lyrâ," "There is good reason to judge from William of Malmesbury's account of his own Monastery in particular, that the intersecting arches still seen there were made by Abbot Warin de Lyrâ, a Norman, in 1080." The only passage in William of Malmesbury's works that the present writer has hitherto been able to find, relating to any building by Abbot Warin de Lyrâ, amounts to this has been stated above. That the Norman Abbot took offence at the bones of some of his predecessors being kept in two stone vases on each side of the Altar of St. Mary's, and turning them out as so much common rubbish, buried them in the furthest corner of the Chapel of St. Michael, *which chapel he* widened and raised,

a yearly feast in honour of St. Aldhelm, to last five days, which the Queen increased to eight. This used to draw such crowds from all the county round about, that a band of men used to be kept by the town to keep order. This feast was in operation in Leland's time, 1540, but ceased to be observed soon after.

Abbot Warin de Lyrâ having little reverence for Mael-dulph and Aldhelm, his predecessors, and being more especially "nauseated" by their bones being kept on each side of the altar, ordered them to be ejected. They were tumbled together like so much rubbish and carelessly thrown into a hole in the farthest corner of *St. Michael's Chapel*, which he caused to be *widened and enlarged*. The bones also of Johannes Scotus, the learned divine, whose memory had been cherished with a veneration almost equal to that paid to Aldhelm, shared the same fate.

King John also became a benefactor to the Monastery, as did also Edward the Third; the last of whom raised the superior of this Abbey to the dignity of a Parliamentary mitred Abbot.

The property belonging to the Monastery included almost every parish round the town—Charlton, Hankerton, Brokenborough, Newnton, Norton, Corston, Rodbourne, Colepark, Burton Hill, Brinkworth, Lea and Cleverton, Startley, Garsdon, and Whitechurch—besides a great deal beyond and elsewhere, consisting of three hundred and thirty hides of land, nearly equal to forty thousand acres, if we reckon 120 acres to an hide. The value was returned at £803 17s. 7½d. a year in the money of those days. This would equal several thousand of our money. The Norman pound, which was used in the valuations contained in the Domesday-book, was a pound weight of silver, divided into twenty shillings, each equal in weight to three modern shillings. Therefore,

in order to bring these ancient valuations to the same sterling standard as the present coin, it will be necessary to multiply the respective pounds by three, which will give the annual rents in modern money. The Abbots of Malmesbury were therefore in receipt of a princely revenue. The returns then made of the value of abbey lands were notoriously under the mark, being made by the stewards, who wished to be, and became, the principal purchasers.

The number of tenants in the different manors belonging to the Abbey were a great deal more numerous then than they are now. In the parish of Charlton there were paying rent 47 persons; at Cowfold (now Colepark), 26; at Norton, 25; at Newnton, 37; and at Brokenborough, 28.

The abbey which was thus richly endowed was built in the form of a cross. A very stately structure.

The dimensions of the church when entire may perhaps be fairly collected from William of Worcester, who visited it in the reign of Henry VI. He says: "So on I posted into a new Shire, through a little nook of her, & by that time it was night, I got into that ancient, sometimes famous & flourishing City [Malmesbury]; but fortune long since turn'd her face from her, so as now there is little left, but the ruins of a rare demolish'd Church, and of a large fair & rich Monastery. So much as is standing of this old Abbey Church promiseth no less (for it represents a Cathedral) to have been of that largeness, strength & extent, as most in ye kingdom. Her old strong Basis is answerable to her Coat. The two great Towers at her West end coming in, are quite demolish'd, & her great High Tower, at the upper end of the high Altar much decay'd & ruinated: The Angle there clean decay'd."

In measuring, he used his own steps ("gressus meos.") The Editors of the *New Monasticon* state that the "step"

of Wm. of Worcester was $19\frac{1}{2}$ inches: (Dugdale, New Monasticon, "Malmesbury," p. 256, Note.) According to this scale the dimensions of the church were as follows:—

"Length of the whole church, with the choir: 172 "*gressus*" = 279 feet.

"Length of the Chapel of St. Mary, at the East (of the choir), 36 "*gressus*" = 57 feet.

"Breadth of the same, 9 "*gressus*" = 14 feet $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

"Projection of the transepts, beyond the aisles (*ultra alas*), 22 "*gressus*" = 35 feet 9 inches."

The late Mr. Britton (*Archit: Antiq.*; vol. i., Y. 10) professes himself unable to draw any conclusions from William of Worcester's "steps:" but he was probably not aware of their equivalent in feet and inches. Mr. Britton also pronounced the proportions of St. Mary's Chapel to be "unusual and awkward." But it is not improbable that St. Mary's Chapel may have been part of Abbot Ælfric's Church, perhaps that church itself, and, there are in Wiltshire, still existing, one or two ancient churches remarkable for being very long and narrow, as for instance, Wiley Church, which is 70 feet long and $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. St. Joseph's Chapel also at Glastonbury Abbey, was 110 feet long by 24 wide. So far as the writer of the present article has been able to judge, his opinion of Wm. of Worcester's accuracy is favourable. For, by actual measurement of the projection (beyond the aisles) of the South Transept of Malmesbury Abbey Church, its length appears to be as nearly as possible the same as described by that Antiquary. Therefore, if nearly correct in the only part of the church to which it is now possible to apply a test, Wm. of Worcester's statement becomes trustworthy as to those parts which are imperfect.

Willis, describing the Abbey Church in its *complete* state,

says that it consisted of a very spacious body, with a fine western front and tower; the length of the nave was nearly one hundred and sixty feet, and its front about ninety. It contained eighteen large pointed windows in the upper story, and the same number of circular-headed ones in the side aisles, besides a very large rich window over the western entrance, and a small one on each side, and was supported by sixteen large round columns; and had a large steeple in the middle, the spire of which, tradition says, was seven yards higher than that at Salisbury; a cross aisle, one hundred and sixty feet from north to south; choir, &c. The steeples was replenished with several bells, no less than ten hanging together in the middle tower; and two in the western. On one of them was this inscription:—

“Elysiam coeli nunquam conscendit ad aulam,
Qin furat hanc nolam Aldelmi sede beati.”

The following is the translation:—

“In heaven’s blest mansions he ne’er sets his feet,
Who steals this bell from Aldhelm’s sacred seat.”

Willis thinks this Abbey Church to have been equal, if not superior, to any cathedral in England.

Leland, speaking of the Abbey Church, says: “It is a right magnificent thing; had two steeples. *One* had a mighty high pyramis, and fell dangerously, *hominum memoria* (in the memory of man); it stood in the middle of the transeptum of the church, and was a mark to all the country round. The *other* yet standeth, a great square tower at the west end of the church.”

Hughes, of Wootton Bassett, says that the steeple of Malmesbury Abbey was almost as high as St. Pauls, London, and that a great tower was at the west end of the church, and still standing when he visited the town.

Judging (from the ruins) of the general plan of the Abbey

Church, it does not seem clear how a *single* square tower could have been introduced at the west end. It is not improbable that he may have mistaken one of the corner western towers, part of which is still left, for a *main* western tower.

The rent and tithes of the monks were not all received under one general head, but were classified, belonging to different departments, each of which had its receiver and other officers. Some lands provided the income of the abbot himself, who had his own receiver. Other lands were charged with the special maintenance either of the monks or the sacristan, the almoner, the infirmary, or the house-steward. Next to the abbot came the *prior*, who in the abbot's absence had the chief care of the house; and under him were often one or more sub-priors. These were all removable at the will of the abbot, as all the other officers were.

Another was the *almoner*, who had the oversight of the alms of the house, which were every day distributed to the poor; and on the anniversary of the founder, or other benefactors to the monastery, took charge of the larger gifts or doles which were commonly given away in food or clothing. He was also to make enquiry for and visit the poor who needed relief at home.

Another was the *sacrist*, or churchwarden, who took care of the holy vessels for the communion, which was usually celebrated every day; prepared the host, or communion bread, with his own hands, as it was kept distinct from the ordinary bread; provided the wine, and water to mix with it; kept the altar-cloths neat and clean; and furnished wax candles for the evening or early morning-service when they were required. It was his business to ring the bell at service-time, and to see to the order of burial for the dead; for

all which duties he was allowed the help of others to assist him.

The *chamberlain* had the care of the dormitory, provided beds and bedding for the monks, razors, scissors, and towels, and the chief part of their clothing and shoes. Their beds were commonly stuffed with hay or straw. He was also to provide iron tools for shoeing the horses of the abbot and prior, and all strangers who visited the abbey.

The *cellarer*, or house-steward, had to provide all the meat and drink used in the monastery, whether for the monks or strangers, as flesh, fish, fowl, wine, bread, corn, malt for ale and beer, as well as wood for firing, and all kitchen utensils.

There was also the *hospitaler*, or hosteler, who had the special charge of the entertainment of guests, shewing hospitality to all comers, and particularly travellers, being a chief part of the duties of a monastery. He was to have beds, stools or seats, tables, towels, napkins, basins, cups, plates and spoons, and servants to wait on him; and bring the food for the guests from the cellarer's department.

There was the *master of the infirmary*, who with his servants had the care of the sick and aged. And for their especial comfort he had a separate cook and kitchen, where the food was prepared most suitably for their infirm condition.

The *head-chanter*, or precentor, had the chief care of the services of the choir, presided over the singing-men and organist and choristers, provided books for them, and paid them their salaries. He had also the charge of the abbey-seal, kept the chapter-book, or record of the proceedings of their public business.

These dignified ecclesiastics had their country residences,

with the addition of parks, on the convent estates. Colepark was one of the parks of the Abbot of Malmesbury. We find that at this park Henry VIII., after the dissolution, kept a stud, and came into the neighbourhood to hunt. The abbots when they travelled had numerous attendants, whose equipage was extremely grand. Sometimes they rode with such a retinue that it is said their train resembled in a marked degree the triumphal procession of Cæsar.

The monastery kitchen had lands of its own. These lay chiefly at Brinkworth, Thornhill, Cowbridge, and Wynyards Mill.

The abbies had granges or farms, under the care of persons, denominated Grangiarii. The present Grange Farm, near the town on the Chippenham road, was the grange that belonged to Malmesbury monastery.

Besides all these receivers and stewards who had to be paid, there were certain laymen who had salaried offices connected with the monastery. Sir Henry Long, of Draycote, by some old custom, was entitled to receive from the monks seven white loaves and seven flagons of beer every week; of course compounded for in money. He was hereditary bailiff of Charlton Wood. Sir Edward Baynton, of Bromham, was the chief seneschal or steward; Sir Thomas Arundell head receiver. The abbey was also charged with pensions, called "corodies," which the crown had a right to fix upon it. All these various charges amounted to about a tenth part of the revenue of the monks.

The abbots' lodgings, hall, and principal gate-way were remarkably grand, and the offices of vast extent. It has been repeatedly stated in books that the buildings spread over forty-five acres of ground; and even Mr. Moffat in his History considers this credible. But it is a great and ex-

travagant mistake. It is distinctly mentioned in the *Valor Eccles*: that the buildings spread over *six* acres; but that the grounds (including orchards, a large pasture called the convent or covent garden, a coniger or rabbit warren, &c.) were forty acres more. The water by which it was supplied is said to have been fetched from a fine spring at Newnton. by underground pipes.

The apartments for the use of the monks and the officers of the monastery, and the *eleemosynaria* or *almshouse*, the *sanctuary* or *place of protection*, the *infirmary*, &c., were distinct structures. There were also *shops* for bakers, weavers, tanners, shoemakers, and *hospitia* for entertaining strangers. The fish-ponds belonging to Malmesbury Abbey were at the bottom of the hill, on which stands the building called *abbot's house*. The *dove-house* was situate on that spot, which, to this day, is styled *dove-yard*. The *vineyard* was that portion of land called Wynyard. This is still the name of a mill on the Avon on the S.E. side of the town. The abbey buildings extended as far as the West Port or Gate, for a document executed in 1215 mentions, among other gifts to the monks, the rent of certain houses "outside the gate, adjoining the walls of the abbey, and called Bynport and Westport," of which we shall more particularly speak hereafter.

There were also at this time many gifts of land by individuals to maintain wax lights and lamps before St. Mary's altar "in the larger Church of Malmesbury." The expression of "the larger church" implies (what has been before stated) that the older and smaller one was still standing in the churchyard.

The number of monks who resided in this abbey of course varied at different periods. Mr. Gilbert says: "There were at Malmesbury twenty-two monks, including the

abbot, to whom pensions were granted at the Reformation." We are, however, informed by Mr. Fosbrooke (*British Monachism*, vi. p. 153) that to every ten monks there was a prior. Now as there were three priors at Malmesbury, the regular number of monks must have been thirty, exclusive of the officers; and when the revenues of the abbey were in the most flourishing state the monks were probably much more numerous.

The rule observed in the monastery was that of St. Benedict, a native of Italy, a man of piety and reputation for the age in which he lived. He instituted a new order of monks early in the sixth century, which became generally established in the tenth. His intention was to form an order, whose discipline should be milder than that of any other monastic body. The members of it, during the course of a holy and peaceable life, were to divide their time between prayer, reading, the education of youth, and other pious labours. Most of the monasteries in the western part of Europe submitted to Benedict's discipline.

The following is the translated substance of the bill of Pope Innocent, relating to Malmesbury Abbey:—

"Innocent, Bishop, the lowest of the servants of God, to his beloved sons the Abbot of the Monastery of Malmesbury and his brethren, both present and to come; dedicated to regular mode of living. It is right that those who chose a religious life should be under apostolical protection, lest any rash intrusion should shake them from their purpose, or (which God forbid) lessen the strength of religion. Therefore, beloved sons in the Lord, we have graciously assented to your reasonable petitions, and taken the Monastery of Malmesbury, in the Diocese of Sarum, in which by Divine service you are engaged, under our own and St. Peter's protection, &c., ordaining, that the monastic order, which is instituted in the said monastery (according to God and the Rule of St. Benedict) be there and at all times inviolably observed."

Those who entered a religious house for the purpose of becoming monks were put under the tuition of the aged. None were usually admitted as monks until they had

reached their eighteenth year, according to canons, though about fifteen was the most usual time, yet great variations existed in this respect ; and they were to pass a year of probation and instruction before the ceremony of profession took place. At the appointed season the novice to be professed, after private prayer, went to the chapter, requesting the society of the house. This being granted, the abbot, or prior, holding his hands between his own, he took the oaths upon the missal, *i.e.* the mass-book, whereby he solemnly bound himself to *poverty, constancy, and obedience*. He then carried the missal to the altar, a religious service was performed, and the dress of the order delivered to him. In the Benedictine order it was thus : The convert was led into the church, and the psalm *Miserere* was sung ; after which followed appropriate prayers ; then such as were suitable to the benediction of the habit, and to put off the secular, and assume the monastic one. This was succeeded by a particular prayer, and the kiss of peace being given by all, he continued in silence till the third day.

The monks were required to devote the principal part of each day to the performance of religious services, distinguished by the following names :—

Mattins. This service began about twelve or one in the morning.

Lauds. At three. After which they returned to the dormitory.

Prime. At six.

Thirs. At nine. About this part of the day the monks assembled in the chapter-house, to transact the business of the convent. The prior having proclaimed "*Loquamur de ordine nostro*," *i.e.*, "Let us speak of the affairs of the order." Hereupon complaints against delinquents were brought forwards, or they voluntarily acknowledged them, soliciting

pardon or offering penance.

Sixths, or the service of the sixth hour followed; after which they proceeded to the cloister to study, to transcribe or to illuminate.

Nones. At mid-day another service was sung. They then went to the refectory to dine. A psalm was chanted, prayers and grace were said.

Vespers commenced immediately after dinner. This being concluded, they proceeded to the cloister to read, or to the dormitory to sleep. About five o'clock they met again in the refectory to sup; a religious conference followed, which lasted until the office called *Complin* began, about six in the evening. Soon after they retired to their respective beds.

On Sundays the monks preached. Their sermons were composed of a strange medley, and delivered with various gesticulations.

With respect to the *Abbot* or *Head* of such a religious house, he was chosen by the society for the merits of his life and learning. Part of the duty of the abbot consisted in giving, from time to time, instructions and admonitions to the members of the convent.

The abbots of some monasteries were subject to the authority of the bishops; but *others* were independent. Of the *latter* order was the Abbot of Malmesbury; who was one of the twenty-five fixed upon for Parliamentary Abbots by Edward III. These dignitaries wore mitres, exercised episcopal jurisdiction within their respective limits, gave the solemn benediction, and had seats and votes in the House of Lords. Such abbots lived in great state: they kept public tables, and had no small number of officers belonging to their houses.

Domesday-book shows us that the principal manor or

lordship of Malmesbury, previous to the conquest, belonged to the King ; the abbot had very little in the town except the precincts of the monastery. Consequently it became part of the possessions of William I., and by that monarch was granted to the Bishop of Contances.

The reign of William Rufus is a blank in Malmesbury history ; but not so that of Henry I. For now we come to the time of the celebrated Roger Poor, Bishop of Old Sarum, whose behaviour to this monastery caused his name to be remembered here with bitterness. He was the prime favourite of Henry I., an all-powerful dispenser of honour, but not over scrupulous, for if he could not get what he wanted for love or money, he took it by force. Finding a precedent in certain proceedings of his predecessors (Bishops of Sarum), he seized the possessions of Malmesbury Abbey, and held them for twenty years. He asserted his claims to it on the ground 'that Bishop Herman had held it. "*His own cathedral* (at Old Sarum) he dignified to the utmost with matchless ornaments and buildings, on which no expense was spared ;" and also on churches at other places, but more especially at (Old) Sarum and Malmesbury. For there he erected edifices at vast cost and with surpassing beauty, the courses of stone being so correctly laid that the joints deceive the eye, and leads it to imagine that the whole wall is composed of a single block.

The times being menacing, he built large castles. At Malmesbury he had begun one, says the chronicle, "*in the very churchyard*, not a stone's throw from the church:" that is from St. Mary's, restored by Ælfric. So that at this time, 1130, there were in the cemetery—1st, the old Church (St. Saviour's, Peter, and Paul); 2nd, Ælfric's Church ; 3rd, Bishop Roger's Castle. He also fortified the town with walls and gates, of which there were four. The castle stood

on the neck of land between the abbey and Westport ; and by reason of the narrowness there, it could be but a kind of gate or port, and from hence it is likely Westport takes its name. This was the seat or palace anciently of the Bishop of Salisbury.—Aubrey's "Collections for Wiltshire."

Some who have written about the history of the present Abbey Church are of opinion that this Bishop Roger built it. If he did so it is strange that the fact should not have been distinctly mentioned by William of Malmesbury. Bishop Roger died in 1139: William of Malmesbury four years afterwards, in 1143. Having been alive during the Bishop's time, and having known him, as he says, well: having also been a monk of this very monastery, resident many years, he must have known all that was done, and if he saw a castle and names it, it might have been expected that he would have emphatically recorded so grand a work as the Church. Not only, however, is he obscure as to any share that the Bishop had in it, but in the passages I quoted before William of Malmesbury says that the church which the monks frequented in his time was at all events as old as the time of Ælfric, 90 years before the conquest, if not much older.

A writer in the publication called "The Crypt," (probably the late Rev. Peter Hall, author of the "Picturesque Memorials of Salisbury,") is of opinion that the present Church of Malmesbury is to be referred to the middle of the reign of King Henry II., about A.D. 1170-75. He is "disinclined to receive the conjecture which ascribes it to Roger, Bishop of Sarum, who died in 1139. For of that conjecture the foundation is very slight: being only that Bishop Roger was a great builder, though chiefly of *castles*, one of which he erected at Malmesbury." The writer then enters into details justifying his refusal to attribute the present edifice

to the famous Roger of Sarum. There are certain points, he says, in the architecture that cannot fail to suggest a remarkable resemblance between this Abbey Church and that of Glastonbury, both seeming to be, as it were, upon the balance between the Norman and the succeeding style (The Crypt, vol. iii., p. 13.)

One of the many difficulties in settling the exact history of the building of the present church arises from William of Malmesbury's statement that down to the reign of King John, Bishop Roger's Castle was standing "in the very churchyard." The site of the castle now generally pointed out, is just *outside* the west side of the church-yard. But if any part of the castle, when entire, stood (as William says it did) *within* the church-yard, ("*in ipso cœmeterio*,") it is not easy to understand how, before the castle was removed, the nave could have extended so far westward as the present one does.

These different opinions of historians are mighty inconvenient to those who in later days desire to get at the fact and truth. It remains therefore only to suppose either (what is likely enough) that the Historian himself had no very *certain* account of the matter, and gave merely the traditions of his house: or that, if he had such information, he forgot himself upon this occasion, when speaking of the church of his own day as having been *built* by Ælfric; and confused with the act of building Ælfric's act of transferring the "principal dignity" to the church really built by Aldhelm.

King Henry I. had an only son, who was drowned. He wished to secure the crown to his daughter, the Countess of Anjou, afterwards called the Empress Maud, or the Empress. Roger, Bishop of Sarum, had sworn to be faithful to her; but afterwards, declaring that the conditions on

which he had sworn were not observed, he endeavoured to place Stephen on the throne. Stephen thinking him a dangerous man, shut him up in prison, a circumstance which so powerfully affected his mind as to bring on a fit of illness, which shortly afterwards occasioned his death ; Stephen took possession of all his castles, among the rest that of Malmesbury.

During the troublesome time which followed the accession of Stephen, this county was the scene of several important events. In 1139 the King, who had determined to restrain the power of the barons and the superior clergy, attempted to compel Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, to give up his castle at Devizes, then one of the strongest in the kingdom. The bishop and his son were seized, and Stephen laid siege to the castle, which was defended by the Bishop of Ely, the nephew of Roger. The place was obstinately defended, and was only surrendered to prevent the bishop's son from being hanged before the gates. The gallows was already prepared, and all was ready for the execution, when the defenders laid down their arms.

Then began the war between Stephen and the Countess of Anjou, in 1139; Stephen holding Malmesbury. In October of that year one Fitz-Hubert, a cruel and blasphemous partizan on the side of the Countess, clandestinely entered Malmesbury Castle, and burned the houses of the town. Stephen returned and got possession again, restoring the monks (1140). Fitz-Hubert then seized Devizes Castle, and vowed before he had done he would burn every monastery and monk in Wiltshire; but luckily for the monasteries and monks of Wiltshire, he was taken and hanged at Marlborough.

The country all round was overrun with troops of both sides. On the Countess's side were two men of notoriety,

Milo, Earl of Gloucester, and William of Dover. William of Dover took possession of Cricklade and built a castle there, which was probably Castle Eaton, near Cricklade. The Burgesses of Malmesbury, shut up in the town, suffered great inconvenience. They could not even get out to look after their cattle on the King's Heath, for the Earl of Gloucester ran up three forts near the town and determined to starve them all. Where these forts stood is not quite certain, but there are remains of something of this kind in a field called Castle Field, and also on Camp Hill, near Burton Hill. The Earl was driven off and went to Tetbury. His party however returned, attacked Malmesbury once more, and took the governor, Walter de Pinkney, prisoner. But Stephen himself coming to the rescue of the town, once more got it back into his own hands.

In 1141 Matilda was driven by Stephen's brother from Winchester, and took shelter in Devizes. But there was no more safety there; and she was reduced to such straits that she was enclosed by her friends in a bier, and so escaped to Gloucester. Two years after Stephen took Oxford, the head-quarters of Matilda: but was himself defeated at Wilton by Robert, Earl of Gloucester, the Empress's half-brother. The war continued until 1153, and was only terminated by the death of Eustace, the eldest son of King Stephen.

After some years the lady who was contending for the Throne won it, but not giving satisfaction was obliged to fly the kingdom; and in 1152 her son Henry of Anjou arrived to try his fortune in claiming the Crown. He landed in the middle of winter, and the very first place to which he turned his attention was Malmesbury Castle, of which the governor under Stephen was one Jordan. On the eve of the Epiphany Henry attacked the town, and took all except

the keep of the Castle, afterwards called Jordan's Tower, This he tried to starve out, but did not succeed : and in the meanwhile King Stephen, hearing of the danger, returns and pitches his camp near Malmesbury,

So here we have the two rivals face to face, and next day is to settle the Crown of England. These circumstances justify what was said at the beginning of this History, that the town of Malmesbury has, in its day, taken its part in the important events that have happened in this country, Next morning both parties drew out their strength in battle array : on both sides a great display of knights and noble chiefs (says the history), with banners glittering with gold, But it so happened that they could not get at each other, for the river between them was so deeply flooded that nobody dared to ford it. A tempest of rain also blew in the face of Stephen's men, and it was so bitterly cold that they could hardly hold their spears. Under these difficulties, the weather, which interrupts so many pleasant parties, not appearing likely to increase the comforts of this, they, very wisely, agreed to put it off to a better day. In the meantime, some angel of peace whispered to these men's consciences the folly and the wickedness of their doings, for it is stated by one authority that here, under the very walls of Malmesbury, the two rivals came to a compromise about the succession to the Crown.

About a mile to the south of the town is a field called in a grant of 1628, "Burnt Ground," which is traditionally reported to have been the scene of a battle between the forces of Stephen and those of the Empress Maud, under the command of her son, Henry, during the siege.

The fighting among the men of war was hardly over when the men of peace in the abbey were once more drawn into an old and vital quarrel : whether the Bishop of Sarum

was, or was not, *of right* Abbot of Malmesbury. This was in 1190, and the Bishop (being the fourth who had put forward this claim) was Hubert Walter. King Richard I. had gone to the Crusades and had left Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, Chancellor and Governor of England. The revival of the claim is thus quaintly described in an ancient Latin chronicle by Richard of Devizes. "The King of darkness, that ancient firebrand between the Church of Sarum and the Monastery of Malmesbury, applying fresh fuel, kindled an old fire into a new blaze. The abbot was summoned, not upon the question of making his profession to the Bishop but upon that of laying aside altogether his name and the staff of a pastor." [This would imply that the Bishop of Sarum claimed the abbey altogether.] "The King's letter to the Chancellor was produced, ordering the Abbot to answer in law to the demands of the Bishop of Sarum. But the Abbot (Robert de Melun) whose fortune was at stake, was one whom no danger found unprepared, and who was not a man to lose any thing by cowardice. He gave blow for blow: and got other letters from the King counteracting the former ones. The Chancellor perceiving the shameful contradiction in the King's mandates, in order that the King's character might not suffer if any further steps should be taken, put the whole case off until the King's return." This claim on the part of the Bishops of Sarum seems always to have broken down: and the reason probably was that they never succeeded in obtaining the sanction of the Pope.

King Richard settled the rents of the Town of Malmesbury in dower upon his Queen Berengaria: and when King John came to the throne (1199) he also did the same for his Queen Isabella.

King John befriended the monks. He transferred the

crown-interest in the borough and in the hundreds of Chedgelow and Sterkeley (now merged in the hundred of Malmesbury) to the monastery, on their paying to the crown every year a fee farm rent of £20, which he ordered them to pay to his son, the Earl of Cornwall.

In the reign of Henry II. Robert Fitzharding, the first Lord Berkley, of Berkley, had the town and castle of Malmesbury, in Wiltshire; with all the lands and hundreds to the town and castle belonging, granted him by the king, to hold at the rent of thirteen pounds ten shillings, for which he paid one hundred marks in silver, according to the letter patent.

The abbot and convent of Malmesbury probably became possessed of the town and castle in the reign of King John; for upon the patent rolls of the seventeenth year of that king there is a grant or confirmation to the abbot and convent of Malmesbury, of the manor of Malmesbury: and upon the charter rolls of the same year a record *pro Villa et Castro de Malmesbury cum Libertatibus in tribus Hundredis*.

In the reign of King John the premises of the abbey were extended, and the castle, which doubtless was greatly damaged in the contests between King Stephen and Henry of Anjou, was, by permission of the King, razed for the conveniences of the monks, that so the abbey might be enlarged. Many alterations were made in the church, and it was at this time that *the pointed arches* blended with the semi-circular, *as seen in the lower story*, were introduced; and the *upper story was also modelled* agreeably to the taste of the age. Mr. Hearne supplies these particulars, and some who differ from him in regard to the very great antiquity of the sculpture which adorns the western and southern entrances, think it was done in the reign of Edgar.

We ascribe it to the reign of John or to that of his father Henry II., for both these monarchs were benefactors to the abbey. Sculpture flourished at this period, and the circular arch was not set aside. In the upper story, to the fourth window from the east, are a number of large circular Saxon ornaments, but westward there are none. From hence (an antiquarian has observed) we may judge how far the old wall extends, and what part has been rebuilt.

Queen Isabel (King John's widow) also granted a charter to the abbots and monks, confirming the town of Malmesbury to them, at a fee-farm rent of twenty pounds.

In the thirty-first year of the same reign the fee-farm of twelve pounds from Malmesbury was granted to William Elton, Esq.

Elizabeth Woodville, the beautiful Queen of Edward IV., derived a part of her revenue from this manor. "Twenty pounds per annum from the farm of the town of Malmesbury was ordered to be paid by the abbot, or sheriff of the county, as a part of the pin money of Elizabeth, Queen of Edward IV., according to the patent rolls of the seventh year of the king's reign."

Notwithstanding these grants of rents arising from the manor to particular persons, yet we may consider the abbot as having been the primary holder and Lord of the Manor, until the dissolution of monasteries. A few years before this deprivation took place, we find from the patent rolls of the twenty-first of Henry VIII. that a fine was paid for a confirmation of charters and liberties to that avaricious and dissolute monarch.

Between the years 1263 and 1287 there was at Malmesbury an hospital (of the Order) of St. John of Jerusalem, occupied by a prior, brethren and sisters, bearing habits and

signs of the order, and having a chapel and sacraments. This appears from a degree made by Constantine, official of Walter, then Lord Bishop of Sarum, between the vicar of the parish of St. Paul, Malmesbury, and the master and brethren of the said hospital, about tythes: under the office seal, and seal of the abbot and convent of Malmesbury, who were patrons of the church. This hospital was situate near the south bridge, and the arch still seen there may be deemed a relic of the edifice, which belonged to that religious order.

From the above mentioned deed it appears that there was so early as the latter part of the thirteenth century a vicar of the church of St. Paul, who is styled Walter, perpetual vicar of the church of St. Paul: and that the abbot and convent here were the patrons. In the Patent Roll, 13th Henry IV. (1412) there is the following memorandum relating to the endowment of this vicarage:—"Malmesbury Abbey for the payment of seven shillings there, to the vicar of the church of St. Paul, for lands in Brokenborough, Milbourne, Burton, and Malmesbury." Hence it follows that this vicarage, like many others, was endowed with a salary issuing out of the property belonging to the convent. The amount of pensions paid to the encumbants, &c., of religious houses and chauntries, as the same was issued out of the crown revenues, from the receipts of abbey-lands, contains this article:—"To Thomas Washebourne, priest (St. Paul's Church, Malmesbury) was granted five pounds."—*Willis' History of Mitred Abbies*, vol. 2.

In 1365, Wickliffe, the first celebrated English reformer, began to attack this conventual magnificence. He had been chosen by the seculars head of a college, founded at Oxford, for the scholars of Canterbury; but the newly admitted monks resolved to prefer a regular to that dignity,

and the contests rose to such a height that Wickliffe and the seculars appealed to Pope Urban V., who obliged him to resign. He retired to the living of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, and became a warm opponent of the church of Rome. He was incessantly persecuted, but received protection from the Duke of Lancaster, and others of exalted rank. He is represented as a man of great piety, who, by dint of merit, had obtained the highest academical honours. His efforts for reformation were so successful, that Knighton affirms more than half the people in England embraced his doctrine. Thus monachism, especially, experienced a shock. At different periods a great number of religious houses were suppressed; till at length all the monastic institutions, whose pomp and splendour had for a long season dazzled the eyes of the populace, were overthrown by the potent hand of Henry VIII.

This monarch professed to have scruples respecting the lawfulness of his marriage with his brother's widow, Catherine of Arragon. He in vain solicited the Pope for a divorce. Whatever was the King's real motive, whether scruples of conscience, reasons of state, dislike to the person of the Queen, or his love of Anne Boleyn; be these things as they may, it seems that most of the foreign universities (having been consulted by the advice of the celebrated Archbishop Cranmer) gave it as their opinion that the marriage was inconsistent with the Divine law.

The sentence of divorce was pronounced by Cranmer, between Henry and his Queen, in the year 1533.

As soon as the news reached Rome, the Pope passionately annulled Cranmer's sentence. In return, an act was passed for abolishing the Pope's power in England; and an oath was enjoined, whereby all persons were obliged to swear that they acknowledged the King as supreme head of the

English church. The monks and friars, being strongly attached to the Pope, were very open in their invectives against the King, and showed themselves utter enemies to his supremacy, and to all the statutes made against the Pope's authority, and Peyto, a friar, who preached before the King, told him that the dogs would lick his blood.

Henry being resolved to suppress the monasteries, Cromwell, Earl of Essex, a man remarkable for the extremes of condition he experienced, was the son of a blacksmith, who, by the advice of Cardinal Wolsey, crawled into the favour of Henry VIII., and that monarch placed him at the head of his army, and appointed him vicegerent of ecclesiastical affairs, with full power to examine the abbeyes, priories, &c. He, and the other commissioners, on making a strict inquiry into the conduct of the monks and nuns, reported that they had discovered scenes of lewdness which a long course of licentious living had stifled in some all sense of shame. The prior of Maiden-Bradley owned that he had already provided for seven of his children from the goods of his priory, and produced a Papal dispensation for keeping a concupine.

In the reign of Henry VIII. it being settled for the abbey church to be appropriated to the use of the parish, the arch which opened into the eastern end of the nave was walled up, and thus was formed *the present altar piece*. The western end being ruinous, was enclosed considerably within the original distance; a very large painted window was placed in the centre, with a buttress on either side, and a square structure was erected over this window, of which there is only a fragment. An eminent antiquary apprehends that the structure was intended to strengthen the end of the nave. But others have supposed that it was a small tower for bells, and being shattered in the civil wars their use was discon-

imagined to be the effect of a Divine power. But it ought to be noticed that profligate manners, &c., did not universally disgrace the convents. Lord Herbert says that some societies behaved so well that their lives were not only exempt from notorious faults, but their spare time was employed in writing books, painting, carving, &c. And Mr. Gyffard, one of the visitors, declared on behalf of the house of Woolstrop, that there were none belonging to it but what did engage in the afore-mentioned and similar exercises. Still this was not deemed a sufficient reason for suffering any of them to remain. Many abbots were prevailed upon (either by threats or promises) to give up their convents. When other methods failed recourse was had to compulsion, as in the case of the Abbots of Colchester, Reading, and Glastonbury; who, persevering in their resistance, were accused of high treason, and executed. The Abbot of Malmesbury was one who peacefully resigned his charge.

The number of religious houses suppressed amounted to *six hundred and forty-three monasteries, ninety colleges, two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chauntries and chapels, and one hundred and ten hospitals*. Their annual value, as given in before the suppression, when the rents were low, was £152,517 18s. 10d.; but their real value was supposed to be £1,600,000. The plate, furniture, &c., belonging to these houses likewise rose to a prodigious sum. From this fund six new bishoprics were erected, viz.: Chester, Gloucester, Peterborough, Oxford, Bristol, and Westminster; which last ceased to be a bishopric after its first bishop, and was changed into a deanery, &c. The colleges of Christ Church at Oxford, and the Holy Trinity at Cambridge, were founded; also in both the universities professorships of divinity, law, physic, and of the Hebrew and Greek tongue. Moreover, pensions were allowed to

several of the abbots, and to the monks and nuns.

In 1539 the parliament confirmed to the King the rich seizures he had made, and his distribution of the profits, and in 1540 a bill was brought in for suppressing the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, or Knights Hospitallers, and passed in a short time; and hereby all their revenues were given to the King.

The Order of St. John took its name from an hospital built at Jerusalem, for the use of sick and needy pilgrims coming to the Holy Land to visit the sepulchre of Christ. The hospital was dedicated to St. John the Baptist. This institution was before what is called the Holy War. Several devout persons, of both sexes, going as pilgrims to Jerusalem, resolved to continue there on this charitable account, and subsist on such supplies to themselves, and the diseased pilgrims they took care of, as the bounty of well disposed Christians thought fit to send them. Their care not being confined to any particular sect of Christians, nor even to Christians themselves, they were protected when Jerusalem was in the hands of the Saracens. After the Christians were masters of Jerusalem they became more known for the great help they afforded the sick and wounded soldiers; and had grants and donations, both in money and lands, all over Christendom; by which means they were encouraged to form themselves into a regular corporation, and soon after to erect that corporation into a military order, and to hire soldiers to fight under their banner for the defence of the Holy Sepulchre and christianity. On their being driven out of the Holy Land, as they settled chiefly at Rhodes, they received the appellation of "Knights of Rhodes;" and upon the loss of Rhodes, having the island of Malta given them by the Emperor Charles V., they were called "Knights of Malta."

The stoppage of the wonted hospitality and charity of the abbeys were displeasing to the public in part. To induce the people to be quiet it was signified that in consequence of the great supplies issuing from the sale of the monasteries, they should not be charged for the future with subsidies, loans, or common aids. And to content the nobility and gentry he sold them the abbey lands at an easy rate. Many of Henry's subjects, through Luther's writings, &c., had become friends of the reformed religion, and *on that account* they approved the suppression of the monasteries.

Robert Selwin, who was (the last) abbot, resigned the monastery and its revenues into the hands of the King December 15, 1549. The lordship of Malmesbury did not continue long in the possession of Henry, for in the year 1545 he sold the site of the abbey and the surrounding demise for fifteen hundred pounds to William Stumpe, Esq., a wealthy clothier from North Nibley, in Gloucestershire. The whole precincts of the monastery, with the buildings then standing, was converted into workshops for the exercise of his trade. He presented the remains of the Abbey Church to the inhabitants of the town, to be used for public worship, instead of the old parochial Church of St. Paul.

His son, Sir James Stumpe, was the next possessor, whose daughter, Elizabeth, conveyed it to her husband, Sir Henry Knevit, of Charlton Park. In the course of the seventeenth century it successively belonged to the families of Warneford, Plomer, and Wharton. Philip, Duke of Wharton, mortgaged the property to Sir Charles Kemyes and Sir Christopher Musgrave, who, in conjunction with the duke's widow, sold the manor to Sir John Rushout, in 1750. His son (created Lord Northwick) dying in 1800, left it by will to his widow, who gave it to her son-in-law, Sir Charles

Cockerell.

In the case of many of the dissolved monasteries it was not enough to have driven away the birds: they must needs destroy their beautiful nests. But with respect to Malmesbury Abbey, it is only fair to say that though the monastery may have been soon demolished, the Abbey Church had already suffered great injury, but not by the hand of man. Leland was here in 1540, a year after the Dissolution. This eye-witness tells us that the high spire that once stood at the cross of the transept had fallen down *within the memory of man*, and had not been rebuilt. The phrase "within the memory of man," implies so far back that one can't exactly say what year. It must therefore have been many years before the Dissolution that the central spire had fallen. By its fall the eastern part also of the church was probably so much injured as to become useless: and may accordingly have been taken down. If this were the case, then the reproach of *wilful* destruction no longer rests with the purchaser of the Abbey Church. And that this is the true account of the matter seems likely: for in the License granted by Archbishop Cranmer (20th August, 1541), to convert the nave into a parish-church, there is no allusion to any other part as being then in existence. In the central steeple had been ten bells; one a remarkably fine one, called St. Aldhelm's, which they used to ring sometimes during storms in order to scare away the thunder and lightning. An anonymous Tourist who visited Malmesbury in 1634, and whose "Topographical Excursion" is printed in "Brayley's Graphic and Historical Illustrator," p. 411, says that at that time the central tower was "much decayed and ruined; and the angle there clean decayed." In the wretched plate of the Abbey Church given in the old edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon*,

the four arches of the central tower appear to have been still standing about 1660. John Aubrey mentions that at the rejoicings for King Charles the Second's return, 29th May, 1660, the noise of artillery so shook the old building that "a pillar of the tower and the parts above it fell down the same night."

Besides the central "*pyramis*" there was a large square tower at the west end of the church. This was standing in 1540, and was seen by Leland. By the fall of this tower much of the west end of the church was destroyed. The exact time and cause of the accident are not known, but according to the description of the Tourist in 1634 (just mentioned), it had so completely disappeared that he seems not to have been aware of its having ever existed. The "two towers" he speaks of were probably the two turrets at the corners of the west front. As to the monastery itself, it seems to have stood chiefly on the north and north-west of the Abbey Church.

The Tourist, who visited the town in 1634, saw some portions of the monastery still standing on the north side of the church; he says "the present sad ruins of that large, spacious, strong, and famous abbey on the north side of the church did manifest what her beauty was in her flourishing time." "After I had wearied myself in beholding these sad and lamentable ruins and dismal downfalls, I a little observed the situation of that small, handsome, and conquered maiden town, and found it strongly seated on a hill, and environed with divers small but sweet rivulets." And about 1650 John Aubrey mentions the remains of the kitchen, on four strong freestone pillars, standing N.W.

Dante says of a desecrated monastery in his own country:—

“ Rich were the returns
 And fertile, which that cloister once was us'd
 To render to those Heavens ; now, t'is fall'n
 Into an empty waste. . . .
 The walls for Abbey reared, turned into dens :
 The cowl, to sacks choked up with musty meal.”

Paradise xxi. and xxii.

The cloisters of Malmesbury were in like manner turned into an empty waste, and the abbey into dens for weavers' looms.

The library was not quite dispersed in Leland's time, for he has left us a list of some of the manuscripts ; chiefly, as might be supposed, the works of old theologians and schoolmen. The rest had probably been scattered. There was at the breaking up of the monasteries a very unnecessary and barbarous destruction of many things that were curious, and would now have been extremely valuable. Particularly was this the case at Malmesbury. Volumes beautifully illuminated were sold by weight at the monastery gates, as so much waste paper, and were used for all sorts of purposes, for covering books, wrapping up goods, stopping ale barrels, scouring guns, and the like. The glovers of Malmesbury in particular made great havoc of them. Manuscripts of this sort are at this moment fetching at sales in London £100 and £200 a piece.

It is very much to be regretted that there is no known drawing, ground plan, or even verbal description of what the abbey or Abbey Church were when perfect. For many hundred years was that noble church filled with chapels, shrines, altars, stained glass, sepulchres of kings and saints, and yet we have not a trace of its contents, save one solitary relic, the so-called tomb of King Athelstan. Athelstan died in 941. It is needless to say that this tomb was not erected at that time, or for a long time after. Nor after so

many changes is it now easy to guess where exactly is the site of his grave. It was "at the altar of St. Mary in the tower," wheresoever that may have been. His remains may have been removed hither, or, without meddling with them, the tomb may have been erected to his memory as a testimonial or cenotaph. It was most likely in its present situation at the time of Leland's visit in 1540, but he does not notice it. It was seen, where it now is, by the Tourist in 1634, above mentioned. Antony Wood, the Oxford Antiquary, visited the church in 1678. He says that "Athelstan's monument had the head knocked off in the wars in Charles the First's time, and that the inhabitants had put on a new one with a bushy beard, but whether like the former I cannot tell." He supposes the monument to have formerly stood in the choir, and to have been removed to its present place at the Dissolution. Mr. Britton was rather of opinion that it did not refer to Athelstan at all; but the tradition of 200 years is against him.

It had been well for Malmesbury if the knocking off King Athelstan's head had been all the mischief done by the wars in Charles the First's time. About this a few words must be said, or the promised outline of your public history will be imperfect.

It was mentioned a little while ago that the castle built by Roger, Bishop of Sarum, had been razed to the ground in King John's reign. But either some portion of it must have been left, or some other built near it, because there certainly was some stronghold fit to receive a garrison of soldiers in Charles the First's wars. Malmesbury then became a place of some consequence, because it stood upon the main line of communication between Bristol and Oxford.

During the civil commotions which raged in the reign of

Charles I. Malmesbury again felt the destructive hand of war. It was taken and retaken seven times between the summer of 1642 and May 1644. We are told that King Charles passed through Malmesbury on his way to Cirencester, and spent part of a night in a building called "The Banqueting-House," on the eastern side of the town. Having received intelligence that a detachment of the parliamentary forces was approaching, the king in the course of the night rode to Cirencester behind Prince Rupert: Cirencester had been taken by that prince not long before this occurrence. The prince, apprized of the king's danger, hastened from thence to Malmesbury to rescue him. The authenticity of this story has been disputed by several learned writers, and in order to verify it we publish the following letters, addressed to Prince Rupert, concerning the taking of Malmesbury in March, 1642, by Sir William Waller :—

No. I,

Sir,

In obedience to your commands, I have sent you what powder, bullet, and match I had, the proportion we brought being very little ; therefore I beseech your Highness that you will be pleased to give more order whither I shall send for more.

Your Highness' most humble servant,

ROGER BURGESS.

Malmesbury, March the 6th, 1642.

No. II.

May it please your Highness,

Having received the enclosed from the Governor of Malmesbury, about 3 of the clock this morning, I thought fit in duty to acquaint your Highness with this intelligence, and I humbly beseech your Highness to take the strength of our garrison into consideration, which standeth thus :—Colonel Owin's Regiment consisting of about 400 men, whereof not 200 armed ; Colonel Bamphield 120, not 60 of them armed. Colonel Coocke some 25 or 26 soldiers, and as many officers. And the armies that I received from Prince Maurice is but 40 muskets and 26 pikes, neither can I receive any from my

Lord Chandoyes, notwithstanding your Highness' letter and other invitations. See that the enemy being stirring this way, my request to your Highness is that you would be pleased to send some regiment that is armed, and I doubt not but we shall be able to withstand any opposition they shall dare to make. So with my humble service to your Highness, I rest

Your Highness' servant to command,

JO : INNES.

Cirencester, March 17th, 1642.

No. III.

Sir,

Yesterday Sir William Waler set upon Malmesbury and played very hard upon it with his great and small shot, about 2 of the clock this morning I sent out such force of horse and Dragoons as I could raise for to aid them, but they came two hours too late, for the town was delivered up, but upon what terms I do not as yet certainly hear. The enemy hath taken all the commanders and officers, with most of the soldiers, only some few excepted which made escape. We expect them with us every hour. I thought fit to advertise your Highness hereof that happily in time your Highness might afford some relief to them or aid to us. So with my humble services I take leave and rest

Your Highness' servant to command

JO : INNES.

Cirencester, March 22nd, 1642.

This story partly corresponds with a passage in the Life of Lord Clarendon, viz., that King Charles lodged at Malmesbury one night in 1642.

In the Malmesbury parish register is this memorandum :—
 "Baptized the 6th November, 1643, Elizabeth Dabridcourte, the daughter of Thomas Dabridcourte, Esq., Lieutenant-Colonel in the king's army, and Deputy-Governor under Colonel Howe (Howard) of the town of Malmesbury." It also appears by the register that in September, 1644, the Lieutenant-Colonel of the garrison was Pudfic, but we are not informed whether Mr. Pudfic was a Royalist or a Parliamentarian. "Married. 30th September, 1644, Marmaduke Pudfic, Lieutenant-Colonel of the garrison, to Miss Margaret Ivey, of the Abbey,

The king had many partisans in the south-west of England, and the Cornish men strongly inclined to the Royalist cause. The king's friends raised an army in Cornwall, with which they advanced into Devon and Somerset, 1643. Sir William Waller was sent against them by the Parliament, and after some skirmishes the two armies met in battle at Landsdown, near Bath. The result was indecisive. The Royalists then attempted to pass through Wiltshire, to join the king at Oxford. Waller followed them closely to Devizes. Here both armies received reinforcements. The Roundheads took a position on Roundaway Down, and on the 13th July, eight days after the battle at Landsdown, they advanced to prevent the junction of the Royalist cavalry with the Cornish infantry. After a sharp action, Waller was totally routed, and, flying with a few horses, escaped to Bristol. Waller again gained strength, made a quick movement through Wiltshire with nearly two thousand light horse and dragoons, and took for the Parliament, with little loss and trouble, a small garrison of the king's at Malmesbury, before it was fortified or provided. The king's forces soon recovered, and kept possession of the place till 1645, when a body of Parliamentary troops, under Colonel Massie, attacked and took Malmesbury by storm; the Royal Governor, Colonel Henry Howard, being made prisoner. A garrison was then stationed here by the victorious party: but no military transactions subsequently occurred.

A field called the *Worthys* is said to have been the place of encampment; and it is evident that the ditch on the southern side of this field, which is opposite the abbey, was thrown up for some other purpose than a mere field fence. Mr. John S. Ody has a deed bearing date A.D. 1659, in which it is noticed that certain houses formerly standing in the

Abbey Row were pulled down in the civil wars. This circumstance renders it probable that the Parliamentary troops made their attack on the town from the Worthys.

Moffatt, in his History of Malmesbury, says that "Cromwell was in Wiltshire in September, 1645, and made himself master of the castle of Devizes. That it is therefore probable that Malmesbury was another place in the county which he re-gained for the Parliament, for in the wall over the lofty arch, facing the Worthys, is a large hole, made by a cannon-ball, in an assault on the town by Cromwell."

The present writer has consulted a number of works by the best authors, in order to find out the truth respecting so startling a statement as quoted by Moffatt, but without success. Cromwell, while engaged with the Parliamentary forces, laid siege to and captured in 1645 Devizes, Salisbury, Bath, Bristol, Bridgewater, Chester, Sherborne, and Exeter. If he had laid seige to Malmesbury, surely it would be recorded, for at that time Malmesbury was of greater importance than several of those places just named. Colonel Massie was the person who had command of the Parliamentary army at Malmesbury (as just stated), and it was he who captured it, and also Beverstone Castle, about two miles from Tetbury. We are told that Massie attacked the King's forces at Beverstone Castle with 300 foot and 80 horse soldiers, that the governor was taken prisoner, and that the castle was destroyed by fire soon after the siege. This is conclusive evidence that Cromwell was not at Malmesbury, and that Moffatt must have drawn on his imagination to have made such a statement.

During one of those contests the old church of Westport was destroyed. Of this, John Aubrey, who was living at the time, gives us the account. "Westport," he says, "is the parish outside the west gate; which west gate, now de-

molished, stood on the neck of land that joins Malmesbury and Westport. Before the late wars here was a very pretty church, consisting of a nave and aisles, dedicated to St. Mary, and a fair spire-steeple, with five tuneable bells. Sir William Waller, for the Parliament, pulled the church down, that it might not be a shelter for the enemy, and melted the bells down into cannon. The steeple was higher than that of St. Paul's Malmesbury. The windows were well painted, and in them were inscriptions that declared much antiquity. Now," says he, "here is rebuilt a church like a stable." The days that followed Charles I. were certainly not favourable to ornamental church-restoration. Nor to ancient religious usages. The parish registers show that during the Commonwealth banns of marriage were published, not in the church, but at the market cross, and the parties were married, not by a clergyman, but by a deputy alderman of the borough, and sometimes by neighbouring magistrates. Such novelties are not intolerable: but another proceeding was. In order to shew the highest respect they entertained for all crowned heads in general and the great Benefactor of the town in particular, in September, 1657, the body of "John Buckle, reputed to be a gypsie, deceased at John Perin's house upon the Fosse," was brought to the Abbey Church, and buried in King Athelstan's chapel. "Howbeit," says the Register, "(by means of Mr. Thomas Ivey, Esquier, and by the desyres and endeavours of others) he was taken up again out of the said chappell, and removed into the church-yard."

The abbey when entire covered the ground on the North and East sides of the Abbey Church, including the space now occupied by a brewery, called the Abbey Brewery. In the narrow street leading from Malmesbury Cross to the Abbey House there was to be seen a few years ago the

arch of an entrance gateway, part or a wall of which is still against a house. Where the choir was now grass grows, where anciently were buried kings and great men.

In 1822 some material alterations and improvements were made in this edifice. The Rev. Mr. Bissett, the vicar, with several of the gentlemen of the town and its vicinity, raised a subscription to defray the expenses, and under the direction of Mr. Goodridge, the architect of Bath, the shattered and much injured remains of the nave was substantially repaired, and rendered comfortable for Christian worship. A large window with stone mullions, &c., was inserted in the west end; the triforium was repaired and enclosed; the vaulting and groining finished and cleaned, the floor and paving relaid and made new. These alterations are said to have been done in a judicious and good style.

ST. PAUL'S. CHURCH.

The church, long since decayed, standing where the steeple is in the church-yard, was the Parish Church of Malmesbury, dedicated to St. Paul.

Leland's description of St. Paul's in 1540 is as follows:—
“The body of the old Parish Church, standing in the south end of the church-yard, is clean taken down. The East is converted *in aulum civicam*. The four square tower in the West end is kept for a dwelling-houses. The church was called St. Paul's in Bynport.

All that remained of St. Paul's Church in 1852 was taken down in that year, except the tower and spire still standing. The materials were sold by the Churchwardens, and the site was appropriated to burial. The building had long been desecrated as a receptacle for lumber. It did not stand in an even line with the tower, and might have been taken for an aisle of the original church but for Leland's statement

that it had been the East end. It had an East window. Some portions of St. Paul's were of a very early character, and a few Norman fragments (to be seen in 1853 in a neighbouring garden) were said to have been brought from the church. There was also two or three windows in good perpendicular tracery. The tower with the lofty steeple of St. Paul's Church is still standing, detached from the Abbey Church, and contain a peal of bells.

In the Fee Farm Roll of the County of Wilts, in the Augmentation Office, there is an account of the Rectory of St. Paul. Its tythes were then worth £9 18s. 10d. There is likewise a particular respecting a lease of the Rectory of Malmesbury, to Basil, John and James Stumpe, for the term of their lives, at the said yearly rent of £9 18s. 10d.

BURNIVALE AND OTHER CHAPELS.

Mr. Weeks says there was in and about Malmesbury, besides Whitechurch, seven chapels.

For the number seven tradition has a fondness that is not always so well grounded as it appears to have been in the present case.

1st.—Burnivale, *i.e.* Bourn-vale Chapel. This chapel was for many years used as a poor-house, and is now destroyed. In a "Bill of Receipts of Sir John Williams, Treasurer of the Court of Augmentations, 13th November, 38 Hen. VIII," it is described a "a certain Chapel in Burnivale in the Parish of Westport, within the Borough of Malmesbury, called 'Our Lady Chapel,' parcel of the possessions of the late Monastery of Malmesbury;" and it was sold (*inter alia*) to a speculator in church property, John Broxolme, Gent.

Mr. Sayer, of Hartwell, Bucks, says there was a Chapel of Burnivale, and that the old women talk of a Lady

Abbesse there.

Here is a curious relic of antiquity, which seems to have been neglected for several ages, in a corner of one of the lower rooms. This curiosity is a small stone vase and pillar, placed in a niche, which appears to have been a *lavatory*, though it has been considered a baptismal font, but it is evidently too small for that purpose. The basin is about ten inches wide, and very shallow. It is supported by a column of an octangular form, with a capital and pedestal, which appear to have been adorned with curious sculpture, now almost obliterated.

2.—Burton Hill Chapel. This was taken down some years ago. It stood near the corner of the road leading to Cowbridge.

3.—St. John's, near the bridge at the southern extremity of the town, part of an Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, belonging to the Knight Hospitallers, which existed here in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Front still standing, consisting of a pointed arched gateway, with ornamental mouldings, now walled up.

4.—St. Michael's. Certainly mentioned in deeds: but whether it stood, as Aubrey says, on the site of the Abbey House, or was attached to the Abbey Church, is doubtful.

5.—Whitechurch, about one mile from Malmesbury, on the way to Charlton. There was formerly a chapel here, with a pretty steeple, which was turned into a dwelling house, and belonged to Captain William Ivey, who pulled down the steeple to build with, about 1675. The chapel was dedicated to St. James, offerings at his image being named in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. Of the original name of White-church Bede says "there was a time when there was not a stone church in all the land, but the custom was to build them all of wood; and therefore when a church

was built of stone it was such a rarity and unusual thing among the Britons that they called the place "*Candida Casa*," or White Church.

6.—St. Helen's. At the corner of a street, formerly called Milk Street, near the road to Sherston, stands a house which is denominated *St. Helen's*, on the same spot where formerly stood St. Helen's Chapel. In the wall of the garden belonging to this house is fixed a calvary cross.

7.—Westport. The Church was anciently called St. Mary's Chantry. There were three aisles which took up the whole area. It is reported to have been more ancient than the Abbey Church. (Aubrey.)

8.—Moffatt (p. 102) mentions traces of a chapel west of the church last mentioned. In a narrow street leading to the Horse Fair is a very ancient door-way and good perpendicular window of two lights are still to be seen in a cottage on the left hand side.

Besides the above the Valor Ecclesiasticus names as in the Abbey Church a Chapel of St. John the Baptist, the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the shrine of St. Aldhelm.

The monument commonly called King Athelstan's stands in what is called his chapel, at the east end of the south side of the nave. His body certainly was not laid on this spot, for William of Malmesbury says it was buried under the high altar, which would be about the centre of the present garden of the Abbey House. Both the effigy and the tomb are of a style some hundreds of years after the time of Athelstan. Browne Willis doubted whether the figure could be the same that had belonged to the original tomb when at the east end of the church. Mr. Britton was of opinion that they have no reference whatever to King

TOMB OF KING ATHELSTAN.



Athelstan. But it is not improbable that they may have been erected at some later period, in honourable memory of the Benefactor of Malmesbury.

Antony Wood, who visited the church in 1678, says in one of his MS. letters "Athelstan's monument had the head knocked off in the Civil Wars, and the inhabitants put on a new one with a bushy beard, but whether like the former I cannot tell. This monument formerly stood in the choir, but was removed to this place, *i.e.* where it stands at present, at the Dissolution."

SECTION IV.

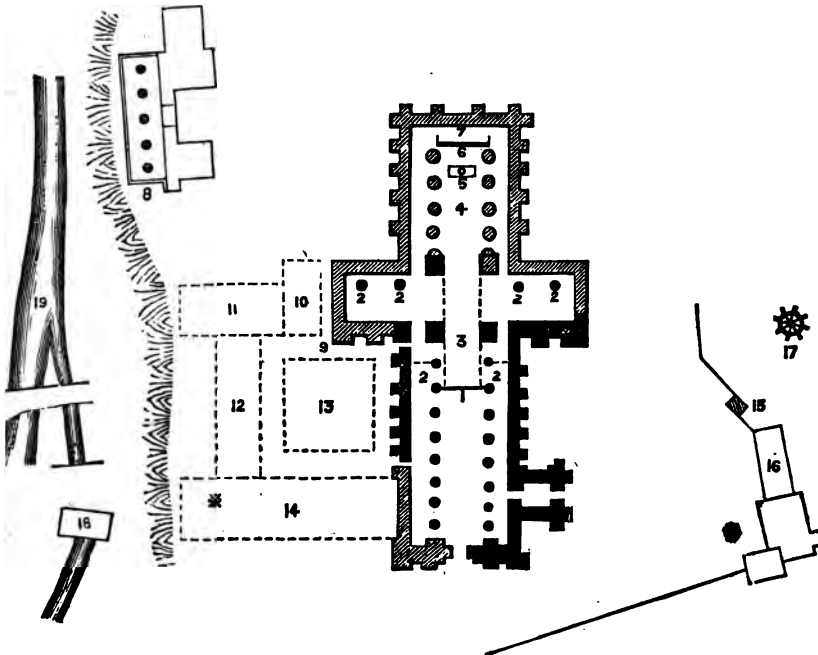
THE ARCHITECTURE OF MALMESBURY ABBEY CHURCH.

THE Abbey Church of Malmesbury must, when perfect, have claimed a very high place among our ecclesiastical edifices, being conceived on the fullest cathedral type, on a scale surpassing several churches of cathedral rank, and carried out with a very high degree of merit in its actual architecture. At present, a fragment only exists; six bays out of the nine which formed the nave are used as the parish church, and some small portions remain in a ruined state to the east and west; happily indeed enough, combined with certain historical indications, to re-construct in imagination all the principal features of this magnificent building.

The Church of Malmesbury consisted of the usual parts of a great English minster, the four limbs of the cross and the central tower. The church was purely conventual, and did not belong to that class of churches, partly monastic partly parochial, to which a first glimpse might tempt one to refer it. That is to say, the whole church belonged to the monastery, and not, as oftener happened, the eastern part to the monks and the western to the parish. The remains of the proper parish church stand a little to the south of the abbey; as the parishioners did not obtain possession of the Abbey Church till after the Dissolution.

It appears to be generally believed that the present

GROUND PLAN OF THE ABBEY.



- 1—ROOD LOFT.
- 2—CHAPELS
- 3—RITUAL CHOIR
- 4—PRESBYTERY
- 5—HIGH ALTAR
- 6—SHRINE OF S. ALDHELM
- 7—LADY CHAPEL
- 8—INFIRMARY HALL
- 9—SLYPE
- 10—CHAPTER HOUSE
- 11—DORMITORY

- 12—REFECTORY
- *—KITCHEN
- 13—CLOISTER GARTH
- 14—CELLARAGE WITH GUEST HOUSE OVER *
- 15—GATE HOUSE
- 16—S. PAUL'S PARISH CHURCH
- 7—MARKET CROSS
- 18—MILL
- 19—NEWNTON WATER



church was begun by Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, about the year 1135. This tradition seems confirmed by two passages of William of Malmesbury, neither of which directly assert it. Certainly the architecture of even the earliest portions of the church is remarkably advanced for that date, but this is no more than we might reasonably expect in the works of a Prelate so renowned for his architectural skill, and whom we might therefore naturally expect to find at the head of the artistic developments of his age. If, then, we accept this date, we may recognize in the foundation of this church one of the most memorable epochs in the history of architecture in this island; for we may safely set it down as exhibiting the first English example, not indeed of the incidental use of the pointed arch, when any special necessity rendered it desirable, but—what is a very different matter—the first instance of its distinct preference on æsthetical grounds in the main arcades of a great church. When this point had been gained, the battle between Romanesque and Gothic was really won by the latter; every Gothic detail now followed as a natural development in its natural order. Malmesbury, however, happily exhibits the style just after this first and greatest change had been accomplished, and no other commenced; every other feature is still Romanesque. In short, while, in a history of English architecture, we ought to speak of Malmesbury as the earliest of Transitional examples, it will in practically describing the building itself, be far more convenient, and indeed far more accurate, to speak of its earliest portions as a specimen of the pure Norman style.

One remark, however, I must make. I mentioned 1135 as the date assigned to the commencement of the church. We must, on the one hand, remember that great churches were not, least of all in the reign of Stephen, finished in a

year or two, and that the west end would probably be the last part finished; consequently, Malmesbury nave may well be twenty or thirty years later than 1135. But, on the other hand, there is no reason why the whole may not, as was often done, have been gradually erected from one original design; and, indeed, the great uniformity of the Norman work throughout would lead us to believe that such was really the case. As far as the church is perfect, and as far as existing fragments enables us to judge of the choir, the four great limbs essentially Norman, always remained with considerable decorated and perpendicular changes though in detail. There was an eastern chapel, but I believe nothing can be said of it, except that it was standing in the days of William of Worcester, and that its length was 36 "gressus suos," and its breadth only 9; a somewhat strange proportion, and which may perhaps suggest a sort of square eastern aisle, possibly round an apse, rather than a regular projecting Lady Chapel.*

The Norman Church: Nave and Aisles.—The nave consists of nine bays, six of which, from the east end, form the present parish church, the extreme western portion being in ruins. All here is Norman except the entire clerestory and some other insertions of windows, and even in the clerestory the design can be made out throughout; as in the eastern portion of the nave, the present clerestory windows have been simply inserted in the Norman walls, while in the rest the re-construction has been more complete.

In the interior the triple division of height is well maintained, there being a triforium of noble proportions. The

* What are we to make of the "little church joining to the south side of the transeptum of the Abbey Church," of which Leland speaks? He can hardly mean the little church standing on the south side of the churchyard. Are we to infer that some building was attached to the transept, as the Lady Church at Ely?

piers are of the genuine English form, vast cylindrical masses, with round imposts, hardly to be called capitals, although approaching the character of capitals more than is done by some other examples. The arches are just pointed, but they are so very obtuse as hardly to detract from the purity of the Romanesque effect. They have somewhat elaborate sectional mouldings. The triforium has a not very common arrangement, four small arches within a containing arch ; the latter is enriched with a chevron, but the capitals are all quite plain. Roof-shafts rise without bases from the imposts of the pier. We may remark an increase of ornament towards the east ; the two eastern bays on each side having much richer mouldings. This excess of enrichment extends also to the string over the arcade in the three eastern bays on the south side, and in the first, and part of the second (from the east), on the north. The labels over the arches are rich throughout, and terminate in monster heads ; others of the like form act as keystones.

The Norman clerestory has left no vestiges of itself in the interior, but externally, its design, as I before mentioned, can be readily ascertained. This clerestory is remarkable for its unusual height, and this height is by no means wholly owing to the later reconstruction, which introduced only a very trifling increase of elevation. The Norman pilasters run very nearly up to the present cornice ; so that very little height has been gained, and the size of the clerestory must therefore have originally been, as compared with other buildings, even more remarkable than at present. The windows were tall, single, round-headed lights, their jambs adorned externally with medallions in circles, somewhat like those in the presbytery of Llandaff Cathedral.

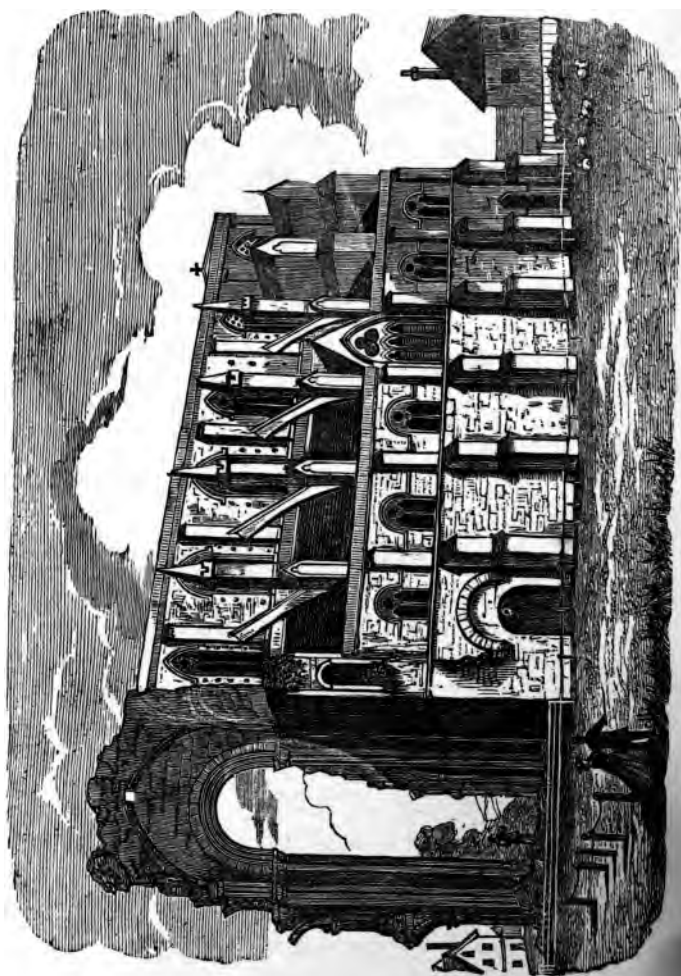
This whole elevation must have been one of the very grandest in England ; it has all the solemn majesty of a

Romanesque building, combined with somewhat of Gothic aspiration. The bays are tall and narrow, the triforium large, the clerestory still larger; it is impossible not to contrast the magnificence of this arrangement with the miserable effect of the stilted piers and diminutive triforia of Gloucester and Tewkesbury naves. If there be any approach to a fault, it is, that the peculiar design of the triforium introduces a somewhat awkward blank space in its head, and that the attempt to unite the continuous vaulting-shaft and the circular pier—each in itself a most magnificent feature—is not altogether successful.

The aisles were lighted by short broad round-headed windows, with arcades beneath them within. On the south side too an arcade of interesting arches runs under the windows without. On the north side, where the cloister stood, there is of course no external arcade, and the windows are necessarily placed higher in the wall. The vaulting of the aisles is quadripartite, with moulded ribs; the transverse arches are pointed, and quite plain.

The West Front.—Of the west front only a small fragment now remains, but quite sufficient to enable us to ascertain both its original design and the changes which it has undergone. At the south-west corner is what at first sight appears to be the west wall of a tower terminating the aisle, a rich and good specimen of Norman work; small relics of the west window and doorway, the former evidently a perpendicular insertion, cling, as it were, to the larger fragments. From this the imagination at once leaps to the conclusion that the facade was one of the commonest, and yet (saving its precedence to Peterborough) the most satisfactory type; the gable between two western towers. The perpendicular window inserted in the Norman front at once suggests Southwell as the existing instance most likely

EXTERIOR OF MALMESBURY ABBEY.





to recall its general effect. But a little further examination will show that this natural flight of the imagination—in which I must confess to have indulged myself years ago, on my first glimpse of the building—is simply a delusion. An inspection from any point but the direct west will show that the supposed tower has no wall to the south or east, and none to the north but the clerestory of the nave. In fact, the facade is simply a sham; there is merely a turret, with a blank wall connecting it with the west end of the nave. The original front must have been the exact facsimile—or, to speak with more chronological accuracy, the prototype—of that of Salisbury. During the Early Gothic period, it is well known that such violations of reality were familiar to our architects, as is shown by the additional cases of Lincoln, Wells, and Newstead; I have not, however, as yet met with another instance in English Romanesque. Considering the chronology and geography of the case, I think one can hardly doubt but that the Salisbury architect only copied the original error of him of Malmesbury.

The turret and the connecting wall are perfect up to nearly the height of the nave, but the parapet of the wall and the finish of the turret are destroyed. Both are richly adorned with arcades, with a very gradual increase of ornament toward the top; but the division into stages is not identical in the turret and the connecting wall. There is only a single window ranging with and resembling those of the aisles. The intersecting arcade is also carried under the window, and it was continued along the west end of the nave, but not across the turret. The arcade is of course interrupted by the west door, but by one west door only, as there are none in the west end of the nave. Of the great doorway, a portion of the jamb, which is very rich, is all

that remains ; but we can see that a perpendicular doorway with a flat head and spandril, was inserted with the Norman opening. We may partly infer from this that the latter had a tympanum ?

Side Doorways.—The magnificent Norman porch on the south side of the church is probably the feature for which Malmesbury Abbey is most celebrated ; but, as a work rather of sculpture than of architecture, it is the very portion which comes least within my province. Happily the remarkable, I might almost say beautiful, series of sculptures with which it is adorned, have been elaborately treated by Professor Cockerell, in his work on the Sculptures of Wells Cathedral. In my point of view, the outer doorway is simply a grander specimen of the same form as the west door of Iffley, where, instead of legitimate shafts with capitals, we have large continuous bowtels, covered with sculptures. The inner doorway has a sculptured tympanum, and there are also sculptured figures on the sides. There are arches traced out for vaulting, which seems not to have been added. There is a smaller Norman doorway in the extreme east bay on the north side, which led into the cloister.

The Lantern.—Of the arches under the tower, the northern and western ones remain perfect ; the latter of course being blocked, as the church now terminates at that point. The northern arch is now quite free, except at the north-west angle, and it forms a most striking object especially in the ascent to the abbey from the lower part of the town. This part of the church should be attentively studied. The choir was doubtless, as is usual in Norman minsters, under the lantern, and this ritual consideration has had some effect upon the architecture. As is so often the case, the eastern and western arches have as little projection in the pier as possible, the shafts being recessed, something

in the same way as the curious ones at Leonard Stanley.* But on the north and south sides, it was desirable to have as much blank wall as might be; the arches therefore have bold projecting responds. The object of this arrangement, which may be seen in many other Norman churches, is to get as much uninterrupted backing for the stalls as possible. It follows thus, although the lantern is a square, and not an oblong, like Stanley and Bath, the side arches are very much narrower than the east and west ones. Hence they are very much stilted, to keep them at the same level. One wonders they were not pointed, as in the earlier example at St. Bartholomew's in London, and the later in Oxford Cathedral; and we might be tempted to ask whether this non-use of the pointed arch, where one would naturally have looked for it, does not prove the nave arcades to be of later design? But love of at least comparative uniformity might induce the architects to make them all semicircular, while to have the eastern and western arches—the most prominent arches in the church—pointed, would seem a further development beyond using that form in the arcades of the nave.

Over the arches are some traces of Norman ornaments which have been cut through by a perpendicular vault. This is the usual fate of Norman lanterns, to have a great part of what was originally open to the church cut off by a later roof. In many cases this was done in order to hang bells in the tower, and in some cases, as at Winchester and Romsey, it seems to have been connected with the destruction of a previously existing campanile. Here, however, as we shall presently see, this was not the state of things, but the reverse. The change therefore seems the more wanton;


* See Mr. Petit's description of that church in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. vi., p. 45. I was also struck by the resemblance between the monsters forming the label terminations at Malmesbury and Stanley.

but we may probably find its cause in a consideration of practical expediency. The choir, as we have seen, was under the tower, and we have no reason to suppose the monks of Malmesbury to have been more impervious to cold than other mortals; to diminish the height of the choir might therefore be an important gain in point of practical comfort.

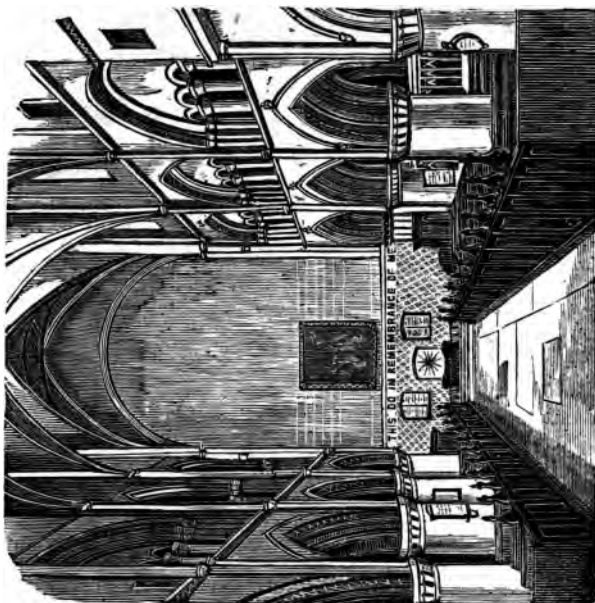
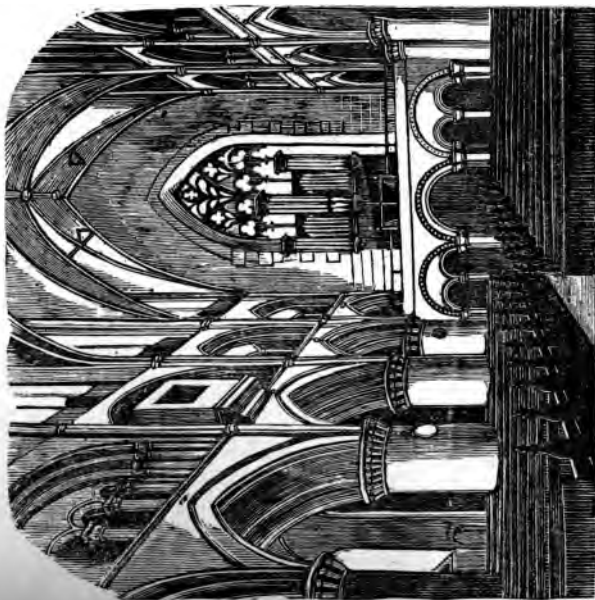
The character of the central tower, which these arches supported, we can only conjecture. We only know that it was crowned by an enormously lofty spire, but that both tower and spire fell some time before the Dissolution and were never rebuilt. Perhaps we shall be nearest the truth in imagining a rich Norman tower, crowned with a timber spire of later date.

Transepts.—Of the transepts we find remaining the greater portion of the west wall of the south wing, and a small portion on the north side. They had no western aisles; their eastern arrangements cannot be made out without disturbing the foundations. They projected two bays beyond the aisles of the nave, with which they communicate by pointed arches. In the triforium range the windows assume internally the form of a triplet, but the side arches merely open to a passage, the actual window being single, but much larger and longer than the other Norman windows in the church. Below is the same small window and intersecting arcade beneath as in the nave aisles.

Presbytery.—Of the eastern limb, formerly the presbytery of the church, there remains only the merest fragment attached to the great northern arch of the lantern. We can, however, see that its general character was exactly the same as the nave, with a little more enrichment in point of detail, there being a small decorative arcade added below the triforium string. As the ritual choir appears to have



INTERIOR OF MALMESBURY ABBEY CHURCH.



always retained its original place beneath the lantern, we may fairly conclude that the presbytery itself never received any addition of length, but had merely a chapel added beyond it. It doubtless remained till its destruction a short Norman structure of three or four bays, as at Peterborough and Romsey.

Decorated changes : Windows.—The church, as completed some time in the twelfth century, remained untouched during the whole of the next, unless the eastern chapel which had so completely vanished belonged to that period, or unless any addition was then made to the central tower. The main body of the Norman fabric certainly remained unchanged in all its original grandeur during the age which erected Salisbury, completed Romsey, and remodelled Ely and Lincoln. Consequently of Lancet architecture this abbey affords no study whatever, nor yet of tracery in its earlier form, but of the advanced geometrical forms, contemporary with many flowing examples, it supplies us with some important specimens. Here, as at St. David's and Llandaff, one great object of the decorated architects was to adapt the aisles to the style now in vogue; but at Malmesbury, while this design was less completely carried out than in those instances, the change was extended to another portion to which their benefactors of this period gave but little attention; the clerestory was remodelled throughout the nave and apparently throughout the whole church.

I have already stated how far this last change was an actual rebuilding of the clerestory, and how far a mere insertion of windows in a previously existing wall. The windows are rather tall compositions of three lights, with the exception of those in the eastern bay, which, the bay itself being narrower, are of two only. The tracery is of

a somewhat singular form, composed of *imperfect* spherical triangles, of which some examples occur in Exeter Cathedral. In the south aisle two large decorated windows of three lights have been inserted, low in the wall, so as to cut into the decorative arcades below. The tracery is very remarkable. The main lines are the same as in a very beautiful window in the Mayor's Chapel at Bristol, the general notion being a subarcuated window with a large quatrefoil for the centre-piece, but with two perpendicular lines substituted for its lower foil; they are therefore instances of the accidental forestalling of perpendicular in a geometrical design. The intention of this form here and elsewhere probably was to receive a representation of the Crucifixion in stained glass. But our Malmesbury example is by no means to be compared to its Bristol fellow. It not only lacks the beautiful enrichment of ball-flower which embellishes the latter, but the actual lines of its tracery are of a very inferior kind. The fenestellæ at Malmesbury are simply cinquefoiled; the centre-piece is not foliated again, as at Bristol, and there is a sort of awkward flowered cusp instead of an arch in the head of the central light. There is another window in Bristol, in the porch of St. Mary Redcliffe, of the same character, and whose primary lines are the same; but here the quatrefoil is completed on a secondary plane, which makes it much more satisfactory as a mere piece of tracery than the other two, but not so well adapted for the purpose above suggested. All these windows have a close analogy with the class which have a spherical square for their centre-piece.

On the north side only a single decorated window has been inserted in the aisle, but this is one which deserves attentive study on many grounds. It will be remembered that the cloister stood on this side, consequently the window

was necessarily inserted at a higher level than those in the north aisle. The Norman arcade therefore below the window is spared. But between the roof of the cloister and the vault of the aisle there was not room for a window of the same height as those which were inserted on the south side. The designer was therefore driven to the ingenious expedient of carrying his window up into a separate gable, rising from the parapet of the aisle like a dormer, and internally cutting away one cell of the Norman vault, which he reconstructed after his own fashion. This has been done in other cases where the same reason made it necessary, as at Leominster. There is also a window similarly placed on the north side of the Priory Church at Brecon, but the circumstances here are somewhat different, as its position was not necessitated by the cloister—the conventual buildings being situated to the south of the church—and indeed it is placed over another window.

The tracery of this window is no less worthy of remark than its position, but, as I have already described and figured it in my work on that subject, I will not repeat the observations which I have there made.

I cannot pronounce any opinion whether it was intended to alter the windows throughout the aisles, so that we have merely the first instalment of a change which was never brought to perfection ; or whether larger windows were simply inserted where they were practically wanted. An argument that the former was not the case may perhaps be found in the fact that on the south side the sills of the Norman windows have been brought down lower, so as to cut into the arcade, apparently at this time. At any rate, I feel sure that the insertion was not merely owing to æsthetical considerations, but was intended to remedy the very practical deficiency of the want of light. The great size of the

piers and the unusually short distances at which they stand from each other, must have rendered the church singularly dark when it was entirely dependent for its illumination on the original Norman lights. The common notion is that these windows were inserted after the Dissolution, when it is said that more light was needed in what now became the parish church than had, I suppose, been necessary during the darkness of monastic occupation. The only objection to this ingenious theory is the unmistakable date of the windows.

Other Decorated changes.—Besides the windows, the general appearance of the nave, within and without, was considerably modified at this period. A new roof was almost necessitated by the new clerestory, and the form it assumed was naturally that of "a goodly vault of stone." The vaulting is quadripartite with some additional lines; the keystones have rich bosses of foliage, but two from some destroyed portion of the church, which are preserved in the vestry, have one a female figure, the other the five wounds of our LORD.

The vault springs from the level of the string below the clerestory, where the Norman shafts have been finished with new flowered capitals. The whole height of the clerestory is therefore taken into the vault, and its great height and narrowness causes the arches to be stilted in a very awkward manner. The same clerestory and vault were also extended to the transepts. In the corner of the north transept we see one of the Norman shafts, but here single, and not clustered as in the nave, finished with a decorated floriated capital. In the south there is a clustered shaft with an octagonal capital.

The addition of the stone roof doubtless rendered necessary the elaborate system of pinnacles and flying-buts.

tresses which was now introduced. The pinnacles of the aisles are very tall and plain, and rise within the parapet, so as not to interfere, except in one instance, with the Norman pilasters. On the north side the whole wall has been very much tampered with, but the flying buttresses rise in the same way as on the south, except in the two western bays of the present nave, where, instead of being *flying* buttresses, they run up in all their massiveness against the clerestory. Buttresses have been added below the windows, since the destruction of the cloister; between the windows are pilasters, probably restorations of the original Norman ones.

The north side of the church being that occupied by the conventual buildings, the south is consequently the *show side*; it accordingly receives, both in the aisle and the clerestory, an elaborate pierced parapet, which is absent on the north. There are no pinnacles in the clerestory on either side.

Finally, at this time the great south porch was externally recased. This involved the erection of another arch in front of the great Norman gateway. The circular form was happily chosen for the arch, and two of the old monster-heads were used up again as its label terminations. The moulding of the arch is a bold wave: the size, shape, and section of this arch reminded me altogether of one on the north side of the ruined nave of Brecon Collegiate Church.

Perpendicular Changes: the Western Tower.—During the last æra of Gothic architecture, the church received, as far as its existing remains allow us to judge, only one addition of much moment, but that was one of the greatest importance, and must have completely changed the outline and general appearance of the building. This was no other

than the addition of a western tower, the "great square" tower spoken of by Leland. The church must, therefore, when complete, have exhibited that peculiar form of grouping which results from two towers, one central and the other western.

There almost seems to be a sort of fatality about this form. As every one knows, it is in existing churches the rarest of any; but traces, architectural or historical, may be discerned of its having existed, or at least having been contemplated, in several churches where at present it no longer remains. Ely Cathedral is the only English example on a large scale, and I do not know of any case, besides Purton and Wimborne Minster, where a smaller church of this outline remains perfect to this day. But we all know that Hereford Cathedral presented the same form within the memory of man, and it is manifest that such was the case at Leominster as long as the church was perfect. Bangor Cathedral and Christ Church in Hampshire bear evident tokens that they were at least designed for it, central towers having been certainly contemplated, if never erected, though the western ones now alone remain. At Shrewsbury Abbey, again, we cannot doubt but that the central tower must have existed, though that portion of the fabric has been destroyed. We might add Wymondham Abbey, in Norfolk, so lucidly illustrated by Mr. Petit, if we are really to consider this as a case in point, and not rather as two distinct churches in juxta-position.

In some of these cases, the western tower formed an integral part of the original design. This was the case at Ely and at Leominster, and Mr. Petit has shown that the present perpendicular west tower of Wimborne represents a Norman predecessor. But the western tower is more commonly a perpendicular addition. We can hardly help con-

cluding that the churches had previously been without bells,—the central towers acting simply as internal lanterns,—and that these towers were now added for their reception. This enables us to add to our list, as at least analogous cases, several instances where a western tower was added to a church which had previously possessed only a central bell-cot, as at Llanrhystid in Cardiganshire, and several of the extraordinary towers in Pembrokeshire. At Wanborough, in Wiltshire, we have a western tower added to a church which had previously something between a central bell-cot and a central spire.

In most of these instances, the new tower was built beyond the old nave, so as to destroy any west front that might have previously existed, just as if one were now to add a west tower to Romsey, or St. Cross, or Worcester Cathedral. But at Hereford and Shrewsbury the tower was constructed within the nave, and the like was the case at Malmesbury also. The west front was not only a splendid composition, which the designers of the tower might well be unwilling to deface more than was necessary for their purpose, but it was also of a form peculiarly ill adapted to harmonize with a steeple built outside in the ordinary manner, while it was capable of producing a façade of extreme grandeur in the way which was actually adopted. A tower was accordingly constructed within the nave, the west wall being carried up as the west wall of the tower. So was the south wall also, and that with so little change that the clerestory and cornice underneath it were not disturbed. But, more than this, the way in which the tower was supported appears to have been one of the most daring pieces of temerity on record. At Shrewsbury an ordinary belfry-arch, with responds of due projection, was thrown across the nave; but at Malmesbury it seems to have been determined

in no wise to interfere with the decorated clerestory and vault. The square of the tower occupied two bays, so that its eastern wall rose from the point marked by the second pier from the west end. It seems actually to have been supported by an arch thrown across the nave above the vault,* while sufficient abutment was sought for in strengthening the wall and the pier. An extra flying-buttress was thrown outwards, and another thrown eastward across the clerestory window; the pier and the arch immediately to the east were also propped by the insertion of additional masonry and a new arch. The tower was thus gained as an external object, without interfering with the internal vista of the nave, or shortening its already not remarkable length.

A huge perpendicular window was inserted in the west front. It was crossed by transoms during its whole height, like that at Winchester; but, unlike the latter, the arch must have been extremely flat. At the same time, as has been already hinted, a perpendicular dooway was also inserted within the great western portal.

The facade was now complete; a tower, flanked by wings terminating in turrets. In the direct west view it must have presented the same elevation as that of Ely, if the porch were removed and the north transept completed; the difference being, that what at Ely were real transepts, was at Malmesbury a mere screen. The violation of the law of reality was no greater than it had been all along, and the front certainly assumed a more striking and varied outline. But so recklessly does the addition appear to have been made, that one is almost surprised at the account which Leland gives of the church. He calls the abbey "a right magnificent thing," adding, "where were two steeples; one that had a mighty

* While the church had a high roof, this would of course not appear externally.

high pyramis, and fell dangerously *in hominum memoriâ*, and sins was not re-edified; it stood in the middle of the transeptum of the church, and was a mark to all the country about. The other yet standeth, a great square tower at the west end of the church."* If the central tower was the original Norman one, we are really surprised, notwithstanding the three centuries difference in their ages, to find that the earlier tower was the first to fall. Such a piece of foolhardy daring as the western tower might have been expected hardly to have survived till the age of Leland. When it did fall I do not know; but whenever that event took place, it appears to have crushed the whole western portion of the nave, which probably accounts for its ruined state at the present day. The pier underneath the tower on the south side is gone, so that the arcade of the nave is imperfect; on the north side there are no vestiges at all external to the present west end.

Lantern.—In the lantern we find some appearances evidently connected with the fall of the central tower. The rood-screen across the western arch still remains, being now within the present church, and now forming its altar-screen. But its central doorway shows that it was originally a rood-screen and not a reredos, as at Waltham, Crowland, Binham, consequently, as I said before, that the nave was not originally parochial. But one is tempted to think that the change which wanton destruction brought about at Waltham and Crowland, was brought about at Malmesbury by the accidental fall of the central tower. It would seem that the eastern part of the church, destroyed by that fall, was never rebuilt, and that the monks accommodated them-

* The expressions of Leland seem to assert that the towers co-existed, and consequently to exclude the otherwise conceivable view, that the western tower was built after the fall of the central tower, to supply its place, as at Waltham.

selves as well as they could in the western limb which alone was left them. Or indeed it is not impossible that they migrated when the tower was found to be dangerous, but before it actually fell, for just east of the rood-screen the arch is built up as high as the impost with a solid wall, which appears to be older than the destruction of the eastern part of the church. I ground this belief chiefly on the fact that the masonry up to that height is quite different and of a much better character than that which blocks the arch itself, which last exactly resembles that with which the arches between the transepts and nave aisles were clearly blocked at the time of the destruction. There are also traces of a string along the eastern face of the wall. I infer that the arch was built up as an attempt to prop up the tower when its dangerous condition was observed. If the perpendicular rood-screen and the perpendicular vault of the lantern represent any important tampering with the central tower about the time of the erection of the western one,* we can better understand the story; namely, that the changes endangered the tower, and that they were reduced to this expedient to stave off for a while the effects of their own work. The western lantern-arch at St. David's was also blocked about the end of the fifteenth century; here also the masonry showed† that the blocking of the arch itself was later than the portion below the impost. But there was this difference between the two cases, that at St. David's, as the choir still remained in use, the ordinary passage under the loft was still open, while at Malmesbury, as the choir was forsaken, the arch was filled up by a dead wall without a doorway.


* The Tudor badges on the screen fix its date to some time since 1485.

† This portion has been re-opened.

Small Perpendicular changes.—During the perpendicular period some smaller alterations took place. Tracery was inserted in the Norman windows in the same barbarous manner as at Peterborough and Romsey; the cloister seems also to have been of this date; at least, a doorway of this style and a small piece of vaulting remain at the north-east corner of the nave, inserted under the Norman doorway, whose height was probably inconsistent with the perpendicular roofing. The recasing of the aisle wall prevents any evidence appearing there. It may, however, have been merely a perpendicular roof added to an earlier cloister, as the doorway and the arrangement of the windows show that a cloister had existed in this position from the first erection of the present church.

Ecclesiology, &c.—I have already mentioned those features in the ecclesiology of the church which are directly connected with its architecture. I may also mention the two stone screens at the east end of the aisles, of perpendicular date, but with decorated tracery. There is also a projection in one of the bays of the triforium in the south side, but much too small for a minstrels' gallery; it was probably a watching-place of some kind.

General aspect.—The abbey is seen very well from most points; the south side, that on which the town lies, has a good-sized churchyard, while towards the north all is open country. There is a steep slope almost immediately to the north—it must have been immediately to the north of the cloister—and from the rising ground opposite the effect is exceedingly good. The excess of height comes out here most conspicuously; when the towers and the high roof existed, the effect must have been utterly unlike the long and comparatively low naves of most of our Norman minsters. The open lantern-arch also shows well, and the



whole group pleasantly with the old house to the north-east, which contains portions of the conventual buildings. But I am not quite sure whether the arch does not show better effect in the ascent of the steep hill in the principal street of the town, rising over the adjoining houses, and grouping with the ancient market-cross.

SCULPTURE, &c.

The most interesting objects of attention at Malmesbury are those relics of ancient architecture which was connected with the religious institutions once so numerous and flourishing in this country, whose dilapidated walls and moss-grown towers at present serve to give only faint ideas of their pristine magnificence. Among these, the Abbey Church is the most prominent and important. The present remains of this once spacious and noble edifice consist of a part of the nave and aisles of the church, the grand southern porch, and a wall belonging to the south transept. Imperfect and decayed as this structure is, enough is left to show the peculiar character of its architecture. The western front, the original lower tier of windows, the massive pillars between the nave and aisles, and the southern porch, display the semicircular arch, exemplifying the earliest species of architecture in this building. The next variety occurs in the intersecting arches which ornament the lower part of the wall on the western and southern sides. The arches springing from the pillars which divide the nave from the aisles are pointed. Above them is a tier of broad semicircular arches, each of which includes four others, with an open colonnade to the roof of the aisles; and over these is a series of long narrow pointed-arch windows, with mullions and tracery.

Such is the great characteristic features of this edifice, which, whether considered as a whole or examined in de-

tail, affords ground for some interesting reflections.

What exists of the Abbey Church may be considered as not more than a sixth part of the building when in its perfect state, and the preservation of this is owing to its being fitted up as a parish church for the use of the inhabitants of the town at the Reformation, when the east and west ends were walled up, some of the windows enlarged, the area paved, &c. The Abbey Church, at present, consists only of a part of the nave and side aisles; it is sixty-six feet in height, one hundred and ten in length, and sixty-eight in breadth, in the clear, or eighty, the thickness of the walls included.

The most prominent parts of this church on the southern side are the grand porch and the upper and lower tier of windows. The flying buttresses with their pinnacles, and an ornamental labustrade, with trefoil perforations on the summit of the walls, both of the nave and aisle. Round the lower part of the wall is a series of intersecting arcivolt mouldings, which are continued along the western front and round the wall of the transept. Immediately above is a plain string moulding, and over that a range of round topped windows (some of which have been altered), with central mullion and trefoil tracey. The upper windows are of the decorated pointed style, and appear to have been constructed in the reign of Edward III., when the Abbot was raised to the dignity of a Parliamentary Baron. The doorway communicating with the cloisters on the north side, the large window in the lower story on the same side, and the lofty window at the west end, display the style of the same period. The flying-buttresses, the pinnacles, and the open-work parapet on the north and south sides of the building, cannot well be referred to an earlier date. The buttresses over the south porch, nearest the west end, differs

from the others ; having been more substantially constructed, with a view, probably, to support the square tower mentioned by Leland.

The exterior and interior portals of the southern porch are elaborately decorated with sculpture. The former displays eight enriched mouldings, continued all round, from the base on each side. Five of these are ornamented with trellis work and interlacing diagonal lines ; and the other three exhibit a multitude of figures, sculptured in low relief, and enclosed within oval bands. The subjects of the sculptures are taken from the history of the Old and New Testaments, and though many of them are distorted and ill-designed, yet, as early specimens of art, they are very curious. William of Worcester, who was here in 1634, has preserved a minute account of the sculptures on the fine arch of the southern porch. His account being interesting and valuable, it is given at full length below :—

“ At the west door, which was her entrance, are curiously cut in freestone the several postures of the months. At the south side of this ancient fabric, at the entrance of a fair porch, there is curiously cut and carved in freestone in three oval arches, statutes representing the Creation, the Deluge, and the Nativity, which in their artificial postures, I may compare to Wells, though not in number so many, nor in bigness so great. And within the same porch on either side are equally placed the Twelve Apostles, and right over the door entering into the church is Christ in His Throne between two Cherubims, which are most artificially cut and carved.

On the first Arch.—1. Defaced quite. 2. Light from Chaos. 3. The Sea from the Land. 4. The Lord sits and beholds. 5. He makes fowls. 6. He makes fish. 7. He makes the beasts. 8. The Spirit moving upon the waters,

9. Adam made. 10. Adam sleeps and woman made. 11. Paradise. 12. Adam left there. 13. Devil tempts Eve. 14. They hide themselves. 15. God calls to them. 16. God thrusts them out. 17. A spade and distaff given. 18. Adam digs, Eve spins. 19. Eve brings forth Cain. 20. Abel tills the earth. 21, 22. Two angels for keepers. 23. Abel walks in the field. 24. Cain meets him. 25. Cain kills Abel. 26, 27, 28. Demolished quite.

On the second Arch.—1, 2. God sits and beholds the sins of the world. 3. Cain is a fugitive. 4. He comes to Eve. 5. An angel. 6. God delivers Noah the axe. 7. Noah works in the ark. 8. Eight persons saved. 9. Abraham offers Isaac. 10. The lamb caught in the bush. 11. Moses talks with his father. 12. Moses keeping sheep. 13. Moses and Aaron striking the rock. 14. Moses reads the law to the Elders. 15. Sampson tearing the lion. 16. Sampson bearing the city gates. 17. The Philistines put out his eyes. 18. David rescues the lamb. 19. David fights with Goliath. 20. Goliath slain. 21. An angel. 22. David rests himself. 23. Defaced quite. 24. David walks to Bethoron. 25. David's entertainment there. 26, 27. Demolished quite.

On the third Arch.—1, 2. Defaced quite. 3. John the forerunner of Christ. 4. Michael the Archangel. 5. The angels come to Mary. 6. Mary in childbed. 7. The three wise men comes to Christ. 8. They find him. 9. Joseph, Mary, and Christ goes into Egypt. 10. Christ curses the fig tree. 11. He rides on an ass to Jerusalem. 12. He eats the Passover with his Twelve Apostles. 13. He is nailed to the cross. 14. Laid in the tomb by Joseph. 15. He riseth again. 16. He ascendeth into heaven. 17. The Holy Ghost descending on the Apostles. 18. Michael overthrows the devil. 19. Mary mourning for Jesus. 20,

21, 22, 23. Demolished quite."

The inner doorway, without columns, are also ornamented with sculpture. Below the arch is an impost, on which is a bass-relievo, which seems to have been intended for a representation of the Deity, supported by two angels. On the right hand of the door is a large priscina in the wall. On each side of the porch is an arcade, above which are seated six large sculptured figures, supposed to be designed for the Apostles, with human figures over their heads, in the attitude of flying.

There is a room over the porches, said to have been the school-room belonging to the abbey, which is now used as a free school for the parish of St. Paul. The immediate entrance into the church is nine feet in height and five in width. Just within this entrance—fixed in the wall to the left—is a head with a kind of crown on it; Catholics have been observed to treat this sculpture with great reverence. It is supposed to represent our Saviour wearing the crown of thorns.

The western front is much mutilated; but enough of it remains to show that it must have had an imposing effect in its original state. The arcades, mouldings, windows, and portal were richly ornamented; and the workmanship is good and substantial. In 1732, when N. & S. Buck made a drawing of this part of the abbey, the doorway appears to have been perfect; but at present only one side remains. One of the capitals which supported the arch is charged with a figure of Sagittarius, and it is probable that the other signs of the Zodiac were continued round the arch. The running scrolls are gradually formed, and resemble some Grecian and Roman ornaments.

Two of the four arches which supported the great central

tower are still standing, and are peculiarly grand and lofty. The acrivolt of the northern arch does not spring directly from the capitals of the pillars, as is generally the case where the semicircular arch is adopted, but the mouldings are carried up in perpendicular lines about six feet above the capitals, before they converge to form the arch, which is somewhat flattened at the top. This is owing to the archway which led into the north transept being nearly ten feet narrower than that towards the nave, which is now walled up. A similar circumstance occurs with regard to the arches supporting the tower of the Church of St. John, at Devizes; those on the narrowest sides being pointed, though the regular Norman or circular style prevails in all the remaining parts of the original building.

In the cemetery adjoining the Abbey Church is the tomb of Dr. Abbia Qui, a physician, who died in 1675. The following verses inserted on it are said to have been written by the poet Aldhelm:—

“He by whose charter, thousands held their breath
Lies here, the victim of triumphant death :
If drugs or matchless skill could death reclaim,
His *life* had been immortal as his *fame*.”

Another epitaph, in a few homely lines, laments the melancholy fate of Hannah Twynney, a servant girl at the White Lion Inn, who was killed in 1703, by a tiger, which belonged to a collection of wild beasts, brought to Malmesbury for public exhibition:—

“In bloom of youth she’s snatch’d from hence,
She had not room to make defence ;
For tiger fierce snatch’d life away,
And now she lies in a bed of clay
Until the resurrection day.

A short distance from the abbey, to the north-east, stands a house, which, according to Aubrey, was built by Stumpe,

the clothier. *This was the spot occupied by St. Michael's Chapel.* We are told that when the monastery was pulled down that the materials were used to build a residence for Mr. Stumpe. The lower parts of this house are much older than the upper. They consist of a range of cellars formed out of large apartments, of ecclesiastical style. The present floor, partly made of encaustic tiles, is on a level with the capitals of a handsome arcade. The arrangement of that arcade is not one usually formed in chapels, but has more of the appearance of having belonged to a refectory. The original floor of this refectory is ten or twelve feet below the present floor of the cellars.

William Stumpe's eldest son, to whom he left a great possession of Malmesbury Abbey Lands, was Sir James Stumpe, Sheriff (1551 and 1559). He left one daughter, married to Sir Henry Knevett, who had Charlton, Brinkworth, &c. One of Sir Henry Knevett's daughters married Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, who gave the lands to his second son, Thomas, Earl of Berks.

SECTION V.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE SUPERIORS OF THE ABBEY.

THE antiquity of Malmesbury Abbey, and the confusion that occurs in its history, in consequence of the destruction of monastic charters and other records, which happened at the Reformation, render it impossible at present to give a complete catalogue of the abbots who presided here from the foundation of the abbey till its dissolution. That industrious antiquary, Brown Willis, has however collected the names of forty-six of them. To his labours we are chiefly indebted for the following account.

Meyldulph, who retired to this place and occasioned the foundation of the abbey, is reckoned the first abbot : though the abbey was scarcely founded till his death, which happened about the year 676. *Adelm*, or *Aldhelm*, his scholar, succeeded him. He governed this abbey thirty-four years, and held the same, according to some authors, *in commendam* with the bishopric of Sherbourne ; of which see he was consecrated bishop in 705. No sooner was Aldhelm appointed Bishop of Sherbourne than he expressed a wish to retire from the office which now for many years he had held as abbot of the monastery of Malmesbury and its branch societies at Bradford and Frome. The members of the various households prevailed upon him to permit them still to look up to him as their superior. It speaks much

for the respect and love with which they regarded the good bishop. He died May 25th, 709.

On the decease of Aldhelm, or rather as Mr. Wharton's collections shew us, upon his being made bishop in 705, *Daniel* became abbot. To him succeeded in the year 746, *Adelm*, or *Aldhelm*, nephew to the former of that name.—However he is mentioned as the next abbot in William of Malmesbury, who omits Daniel; though Dr. Tanner doubts whether or no there was a second Aldhelm.

Ethelard occurs next. He was in 780 promoted to the bishopric of Winchester; and then translated in 793 or 794 to Canterbury. It is said in *Anglia Sacra* that *Ethelard* left the abbey in 754.

Cuthbert appears to have succeeded him; and continued in possession of the abbacy at least till the year 796.

After Cuthbert we meet with no account of the abbots of Malmesbury for the space of nearly two hundred years. This is rather a remarkable circumstance, since it was during this period that King Athelstan bestowed various privileges and donations on the monastery. Perhaps the secular priests who possessed the abbey after the monks were ejected by King Edwy, might have destroyed its records, and thus rendered obscure one of the most flourishing parts of its history. In Domesday-book one *Alestan* is mentioned as having been abbot of Malmesbury; but as we are not informed when he lived, it must be uncertain how far this may be the proper place to introduce him.

The monks being restored to the possession of the abbey by King Edgar in 974, *Elfric* or *Alfred* was appointed abbot. In 977, he was made Bishop of Crediton, and succeeded here by *Athelwerd*, or *Ethelwerd*. He was abbot in 982, and his successor was *Kincward*, of whom—and of the

five following—we have merely the names. They were *Brichtelmus*, *Britchwaldus*, *Edricus*, *Wulsinus*, and *Britchwoldus*.

This last was succeeded by *Egelward*, who continued abbot ten years. His successor was *Elwinus*, who sat a year and a half, and was then replaced by *Briktwold*, or *Brickwold*. He continued superior of this monastery seven years, and died in 1057. On his decease, Herman, Bishop of Wilton, conceived the design of removing the episcopal see to Malmesbury. The grandeur and extent of the abbey (to the increase of which he had himself contributed,) was probably his chief inducement to this attempt. But though he obtained permission from King Edward the Confessor to execute his project, it proved entirely unsuccessful. For the monks by means of their interest with Earl Godwin, who governed the royal councils, procured a revocation of the grant; and shut the doors of the monastery against the bishop. They took care also to supply themselves with a superior by electing *Brithric*, who had been prior of the monastery. Herman was so disgusted at the treatment he received from the monks that he gave up his bishopric and left the kingdom; but he returned not long after, on the death of Elfwold, Bishop of Sherborne, and accepting of that see, he united it with Wilton, and removed to Sarum.*

Brithric was desposed by King William the Conqueror, who made *Turald*, a monk of Fescamp, in Normandy, abbot in his room. He was translated in the year 1070, from hence to the see of Peterborough.

* Several of our ancient historians tell us that the see of the Bishop of Berkshire and Wiltshire was fixed at Malmesbury; as Abingdon, the historiographer, and Radalphus de Diceto, who calls Odo (who was Bishop of Ramsbury), Bishop of Malmesbury; and Gervase of Tilbury, when he says that St. Aldhelm had the city of Maidulf, that is Scireburn. Gibson's edit. of Camden's *Britannia*, p. 102.

Warin de Lira succeeded next ; who died in 1081.

He was succeeded by *Godfrey Gemeticensis*, procurator of the abbey of Ely, whom William the Conqueror translated hither. He died in 1105, and was succeeded by *Edulf*, a monk of Winchester, who was elected into office in the following year, as the *Annales Wintoniensis* informs us.—After he had governed twelve years, *Roger*, Bishop of Salisbury, deposed him in 1118, usurped his place, and kept the same till his death, which happened in December, 1139. Early in the following year the monks of Malmesbury elected to the abbacy *John*, a member of this convent. He is said to have been a man remarkable for the benignity of his manners, and the liberality of his mind. The pope's legate refused to sanction the election, and the monks were obliged at length to purchase his consent.

John continued abbot but a few months, dying in September, the same year.—William of Malmesbury mentions an event as having happened during the government of this superior, which must not be passed by without notice.

One Robert, a marauding soldier, took possession of the castle of Devizes, and from thence made irruptions into the surrounding country, committing horrid cruelties, and directing his vengeance principally against churches and monasteries. He attempted to destroy Malmesbury Abbey; and put to death all monks. All those, at least, who remained in the convent at the time of his attack.

The next abbot was *Peter*, who, in 1142, assisted in a triumphal procession when the Empress Matilda entered the city of Winchester. The time of his death is uncertain.

Gregory occurs next as abbot, in 1159. *Robert* was abbot in the year 1174. He was succeeded by *Osbert*

Foliot, prior of Gloucester, in 1180, who, dying in 1181, or according to *Annales Wigornenses*, in 1182, had for his successor *Nicholas*, a monk of St. Alban's, prior of Wallingford, from whence he was translated hither.—About the year 1175, King Henry II. sent Nicholas, then prior of Wallingford, together with William Fitzadelm, into Ireland, with the bull of Pope Alexander III., in confirmation of the bull of Pope Adrian IV., and also that bull whereby Adrian granted the lordship of Ireland to the king.—He was deposed in 1187, and *Robert de Mulin*, sub-prior of Winchester, was made abbot in his place.—He died in 1205, and *Walter*, whose surname appears to have been *Loring*, succeeded to the office of abbot, which he kept till his death in 1222.

He was succeeded by *John Wallensis*. In the year 1224, the ninth of Henry III., this abbot attested Magna Charta.

The next abbot was *Jeffry*, who was elected in 1246. He probably continued in office till 1260, when *William de Colern* became superior of the monastery. He held this station thirty-six years, dying in 1296. *William de Badminton* succeeded him. He died in 1324. *Adam Atte Hok* or *de la Hooke*, then became abbot. According to Leland, he died at Malmesbury in 1340. The next abbot was *John de Tintern*; on whose death in 1348, *Simon de Aumeney* was raised to the abbacy. In the records of Edward III. there is a grant of a pardon to the abbot of Malmesbury, who it seems had been guilty of concealing Robert de Gurnay, one of the persons who perpetrated the murder of King Edward II. in Berkeley Castle. Whether this pardon was granted to the last named abbot, or to De la Hooke, or Tintern, is not exactly ascertained. De Aumeney died in 1360, and was succeeded by *Walter Camme*, the time of

whose death is uncertain. Probably it happened in 1396, when *Thomas de Chelsworth* was made abbot. His successor appears to have been named *William*, who, according to Mr. Wharton's Collections, was abbot in 1423.

Robert Persore was elected abbot in 1424, and governed this monastery till his death in 1434. *Thomas Bristow* succeeded him, who dying in 1456, had for his successor *John Andover*, who then became abbot. He died in 1462. His successor was *John Aylce*, the time of whose death is uncertain, but most probably it was in 1479.

Thomas Olveston after this had the temporalities of this abbey delivered to him, as appears by the patent rolls. He died in 1509. *Richard Frampton* succeeded him, "whom (says Willis) I take to be the same with Richard, whose surname was Frampton, *alias* Selwin, the last abbot, who surrendered his convent December 15th, 1539." This ingenious antiquary, however, seems to have been mistaken in his opinion, for the name of the last abbot was *Robert Frampton*, or *Selwin*, as appears from an original paper which this writer has himself copied; and which we shall lay before the reader.

A List of the Pensions assigned to the Abbot and Monks of Malmesbury Abbey at the Dissolution of Monasteries. Extracted from the Book of Pensions remaining in the Augmentation Office.

"The names of the Abbot and brethren of the late monastery of Malmesbury, with their pensions to them assigned by the king's commissioners appointed to take the surrender of the said monastery, the same to be paid unto them yearly during their lives at two terms of the year, viz.: at the Feasts of the Annunciation of our Lady, and Saint Michael the Archangel. The first payment to begin at

the Feast of the Annunciation of our Lady, which shall be in the year of our Lord God, 1540."

Robert Frampton, alias Selwin Abbot, 200 Marc; Walter Stacye, sen., steward of lands and chamberer, £13 6s. 8d. John Coddington, B.D., prior, Walter Sutton, B.D., sub-prior, £10 each. Thomas Tewkesburye, sen., Philip Bristowe, sen., John Gloucester, sen., and tierce prior, Richard Pilton, steward to the abbot, £6 13s. 4d. each. John Cantine, warden of the chapel, £8. Ralph Sherwood, sen., Richard Asheton, sen. and farmer, Antonie Malmesbury, sen. and sub-sexton, William Alderley, Thomas Dorselye, Thomas Gloucester, John Horseley, Chauntor, Thomas Stanley, Pitancier, William Brystowe, Thomas Froster, priest and student, Robert Elmore, priest, William Wynchecombe, and William Byfley, £6 each. Also the said abbot to have one tenement in the High Street, within the town of Bristowe (Bristol), late in the tenure of Thomas Hart; and one garden lying in the suburbs of the said town against the Cross called the Red Cross, late in the tenure of the same Thomas Hart, for term of life, of the said late abbot, sine aliquo inde reddendo.

Signed, *Robert Southwell,*
 Edward Carne,
 John London,
 William Berners.

Most of these pensions dropped in consequence of the deaths of the *ci-devant* abbot and most of the monks before the year 1553; for in the Pension Rolls in that year we find that only *seven* persons then received pensions, of which number four were married. The dividends which these seven received amounted to but fifty-three pounds, six shillings, and eight-pence; which with thirty-nine

pounds in annuities and fees, was all that issued out of the revenues of this late flourishing monastery. The following are the names of the monks who received pensions in 1553. Walter Stacye, Richard Asheton, Thomas Froster, and Thomas Stanley, who were married; Walter Sutton, Anthony Malmesbury, and John Horseley, who were unmarried. The sums they respectfully received may be seen in the above list.

Some account has already been given of the principal benefactions bestowed on the monastery of Malmesbury; but no notice has been taken of the amount of the revenues of the abbot. Three records are at present in existence, which contain catalogues of the landed property possessed by the inhabitants of this convent, at three different periods. These are Edward the Confessor's charter, granted in 1065; Domesday-book, compiled in 1081; and Pope Innocent's bull, issued in 1248. But as Domesday-book alone contains an account of the value of the abbey lands, we are under the necessity of drawing up our estimate entirely from that work.

An Account of the Landed Property of the Abbot of Malmesbury, in the year 1081.

The Church of St. Mary * at Malmesbury holds the

manor of Hiwei (modern name Hywaye) Wilts,	£	s.
11 hides; valued at <i>per annum</i>	8	0
Dantesie† (Dauntsey) 10 hides	6	0
Sumreford‡ (Somerford Keynes) 5 hides	5	0
Brecheorde¶ (Brinkworth) 5 hides	4	0

* Meyldulph's first church was dedicated to our blessed Saviour, St. Peter, and St. Paul: but in King Edgar's time the abbey was dedicated to the blessed Virgin Mary and St. Aldhelm. Grosse's Antiquities.

† Here was a mill which paid 20 shillings rent; and a wood three quarters of a mile square.

‡ A mill in this manor paid twenty shillings.

¶ It contained a wood two furlongs in length and one in breadth.

Nortone* (Norton) 5 hides	...	...	...	4	0
Brochenberg† (Brokenborough) 50 hides	...	...	...	30	0
Chemele‡ (Kemble) 30 hides	...	...	...	13	0
Newentone§ (Newnton) 30 hides	...	...	...	12	0
Cerletone || (Charlton) 20 hides	...	...	...	8	0
Gardone¶ (Garsdon) 3 hides...	...	...	...	5	0
Credvelle** (Crudwell) 40 hides	...	...	...	4	0
Breme†† (Bramhill) 38 hides	...	...	...	16	0
Piritone‡‡ (Purton) 35 hides	...	...	...	16	0
Litelton (Littleton) Gloucestershire, 5 hides	...	...	...	5	0
Niwebold (Newbold), Warwickshire, 3 hides	...	...	...	2	10

Total £138 10

The general statement of the annual revenues of the abbot of Malmesbury by the king's commissioners, which was made just before the dissolution of monasteries, cannot be considered as affording any certain information; since it is well known that the accounts they gave in were shamefully inaccurate; and that the monasterial possessions were everywhere amazingly under-valued.

* Had a mill which paid fifteen shillings.

† In this manor were eight mills. They paid six pounds, twelve shillings, and six-pence. It contained a wood four miles and a half long, and three miles broad.

‡ Had two mills which paid fifteen shillings. A wood one mile and half long, and three furlongs broad.

§ Here were two mills which paid thirty shillings.

|| In this manor was a mill which paid fifteen shillings. It contained a wood two furlongs in length, and one in breadth.

¶ Had two mills which paid twenty-five shillings, and a wood three quarters of a mile long, and two furlongs broad.

** Contained a wood three miles square.

†† In this manor were two mills which paid thirty shillings. A wood three miles long, and two furlongs broad.


‡‡ Had a mill which paid five shillings. Contained a wood three miles square.

The Arms of the Abbot of Malmesbury.

Upon a Chief argent, a Mitre or, between two Crosiers azure. On the fees and nombril points, two Lions passant gardant or. The base gules.

SECTION VI.

HISTORY OF THE BOROUGH—ITS CHARTERS—CONFIRMATIONS AND NEW GRANTS OF CHARTERS—REPRESENTATIVE HISTORY—POLITICAL CHARACTER. &c.

HE Borough of Malmesbury is among the most ancient in the kingdom, having been incorporated by Edward the Elder, about the year 916. The privileges bestowed on the town by this monarch were confirmed to them by his son and successor, King Athelstan, in 939.

At present it would probably be a fruitless task to endeavour to discover the nature of the constitution of the corporation of Malmesbury in the days of Athelstan. His charter does not, like those granted in modern times, prescribe any particular forms for the interior civil government of the borough. It is merely a grant of lands and privileges to a pre-existing body of men, characterized as the king's "burgesses of the Borough of Medulfusberg." As nothing but conjectures can therefore be offered on this subject, those who feel interested in it may judge for themselves, whether it is probable that there were from the beginning different orders of burgesses; or that the privileges granted *them* were equally enjoyed by *all the members of the corporation*.

The primary institution of boroughs was connected with the feudal system: but though these communities were formed on the principles of feudal policy, yet the effects they had on the state of civil society were such as to weaken

and at length destroy the influence of that system over customs and manners in those countries where they were introduced.

Corporate bodies, as they elect the major part of the members of one of the branches of legislature, may be considered as forming an important adjunct of the British constitution.

During the reign of Egbert's immediate successors, commerce began to be cultivated in England; and some of those monarchs having been wise enough to observe the advantages that flowed from it, patronised in a particular manner those who exercised it, and thus diminished, and after a time, in a great degree annihilated the power of the feudal lords.

One of the first steps that was taken for the encouragement of commerce was the institution of boroughs. These at first probably were only bodies of tradesmen in large towns, incorporated by a royal charter, which exempted them from the jurisdiction of the feudal lords. By this exemption, the members of corporations had their situation in society very much improved; for whereas many of them had probably been tenants of the very lowest class, they now became in their corporate capacity tenants of the king only.—But this was not the sole advantage that arose from the institution. The acquirement of courage followed the restoration of liberty; and thus the monarch, who erected corporations, raised a number of active and zealous defenders of the country against its violent and piratical enemies the Danes. The gifts of lands to corporations appears in early times at least to have been in general, subsequent to their first institution. This seems to have been the case at Malmesbury, for we do not find that the burgesses were possessed of any lands until the donation of Athel-

stan, though they were incorporated about twenty-three years before the date of his charter. It is probable that in ancient times every inhabitant of a borough became entitled to a share in the privileges of the corporation; for there is a Saxon law, whereby *villains*, who had remained in a privileged town during a year and a day, obtained their liberty.

Hence it appears that the introduction of commerce was attended with the happiest effects on the state of society. As an eminent writer remarks, "A road was thus opened for the meanest in the community to attain to its honours; and while inferior orders were animated with the prospect of bettering their condition, the offices and purposes of society were performed with vigour. The activity and ardour with which different ranks prosecuted their different employments communicated improvement to the community; and men advanced in civility, and in the arts of life."*

From the time of Athelstan the history of the borough is much interwoven with that of the abbey; since it is probable that nearly the whole town belonged to it; for there are still extant grants of seignorial property within the borough, to the abbot and convent; and also various instances of *their* letting on lease houses and lands to particular persons, which *now* belong to the corporation.

The burgesses of Malmesbury, in early times, seem to have risen into considerable importance as a trading company. We find that they had a *Merchants' Guild*, under the government of an alderman and two stewards. The *Register Book* of the convent of Malmesbury contains several deeds and conveyances between the abbot and convent and the members

* Dr. Stuart on the English Constitution.

of this guild ; from whence it farther appears that there was a pretty close connexion between the monastery and the corporation.

This town, therefore, having been a place of considerable importance in a commercial point of view, and also famous for the wealth and grandeur of its monastery, it is probable that most of those monarchs who were benefactors to the abbot and convent also granted privileges to the incorporated tradesmen. From the time of Athelstan's benefaction, however, no record has been yet discovered purporting to be a charter for the confirmation of former franchises, or the addition of further privileges, previous to the reign of Richard II. In the British Museum there is a deed, entitled "a charter of divers liberties, with a heath near Norton, containing five hides of land given by King Athelstan to the burgesses of the town of Malmesbury, on account of a victory gained over the Danes." This was granted about the year 1389. A few years after this transaction the imprudent and unfortunate Richard was deposed. Articles of impeachment were exhibited against him, in which he was charged with having set aside certain knights and burgesses who had been legally elected to serve in parliament, and introduced others for clandestine purposes. These charges were proved, and even admitted by the ill-fated monarch. His successor, Henry IV., who annulled many of King Richard's grants, thought proper to favour the burgesses of Malmesbury with a new charter, which is dated July 2, 1411. It confirms to the burgesses and their successors the charter of King Athelstan, and renews the liberties and franchises, which it contains secure from interruption, either from the king or his officers.

This charter of Henry IV. is noticed in the preamble to that of William III.

We must not omit among the benefactors of the corporation Henry V., the illustrious conqueror of France. There is extant a deed of this monarch with the following title :—*De manibus regis amovendis de quâdam Bruerâ, sive pasturâ, juxta Malmesbury vocatâ Brendeheth, quæ Athelstanus Rex Angliæ dedit Burgensibus villæ de Malmesbury, pro sustentatione unius Capellani ad orandum pro animabus dicti regis et Burgensium prædictorum.*—*Pasch. rec. 10. Hen. V., rot. 4.*

The nature of this deed cannot readily be understood from the account of it, but the following observations may in some degree facilitate its interpretation. In the beginning of this king's reign, in 1414, a parliament was held at Leicester, by which one hundred and ten *alien priories* were suppressed, and their lands and revenues given to the king. This was not done without the consent of the English clergy, to whom this property belonged ; but policy induced them to sacrifice a part of their extensive possessions, in order to preserve the remainder. The foundations thus suppressed were such as had been dependent on foreign monasteries, and therefore probably consisted (besides priories), of hermitages, chapels, and other small institutions, like the chapel before-mentioned, in which prayers were to be said for the soul of King Athelstan, and for those of the burgesses of Malmesbury. If, therefore, this chapel was connected with some abbey abroad, it must, with the rest, have fallen into the hands of the king, who may afterwards have restored it to the corporation. It is worthy of notice that among the present possessions of the corporation there are two houses, called in King William's charter *All-hallows* and *St. Hellen's Chapels* ; one of which probably was raised for the above-noticed pious purpose. It may, perhaps, be thought improbable that any minor institution of the monastic kind should exist within the jurisdiction of a large

poration: but whether it was still subject to the charge of supporting the chapel, does not appear.

Two charters of Edward IV. for the confirmation of ancient franchises and grants to the town of Malmesbury (*Medulfinensis Villa*) are to be found in the British Museum. One of these deeds is dated in the first, and the other in the eleventh year of the reign of that prince.*

It does not appear that any royal charters was granted to the corporation during the period between the reign of Edward IV. and that of Henry VIII., yet this eventful era is too important to be passed over in silence. That crafty monarch Henry VII. clearly saw that the feudal aristocracy, whose interest had raised him to the throne, might employ that interest to deprive him of it in favour of a more powerful competitor. He therefore wisely determined to clip the wings of its influence, and rid himself of the cause of his apprehension.

Among the methods which Henry made use of to lessen the power of the barons, the encouraging of commerce was perhaps the most praiseworthy and effectual.

The burgesses of Malmesbury, among others, doubtless entered with avidity on the road thus opened to wealth and power. The clothing trade, as we shall hereafter have farther occasion to observe, was carried on in this town to a very considerable extent.

In the year 1531 a charter for the confirmation of former grants and privileges was given to the corporation. It was in this year that the English ecclesiastics were sued as in case of a *præmunire*, for having acknowledged a foreign jurisdiction, and taken out bulls, and had suits in Cardinal Wolsey's legatine court. Alarmed at its perilous state, the

* Mr. Caley's M. S.

priesthood united in presenting a large sum to the king, and in acknowledging him as supreme head of the church. The laity, who had been involved in the same crime with the clergy, were fearful of incurring the same penalty; but on their petitioning by the voice of parliament for an amnesty, it was at length granted them. Whether the above charter was given to the burgesses of Malmesbury as a reward for their prompt obedience to the despotic Henry on this important occasion, or whether it was purchased with a subsidy, is uncertain. Some circumstances, however, may be mentioned, which render it probable that the inhabitants of this town were favoured by the king. Richard Frampton, who had been abbot of the convent ever since the year 1509, quietly resigned his charge, and accepted of a pension, a few years after the grant of this charter. This resignation was no doubt agreeable to the principal part of the townsmen; and shews that they must have been more ready to comply with the religious whims of their monarch than could have been expected from their former habits. But the king's favour and generosity to the town may more readily be attributed to his intercourse with Mr. Stumpe, a rich manufacturer of Malmesbury, of whom we shall elsewhere give a farther account.

Hitherto it appears that the corporation had been indebted to the fostering influence of the monastery for its power and opulence; but the dissolution of such religious foundations which now took place did not involve the civil institution in the same destruction. Aided by commerce, it now possessed the means of subsisting alone, and of increasing its possessions and its importance.

It is worthy of remark, that the Reformation does not appear to have met with any material opposition at Malmesbury.

No alterations seem to have taken place in the state of the corporation during the reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Mary. In the following reign the burgesses were probably possessed of considerable property and interest, derived from a successful application to the woollen manufacture. It has been discovered that in Queen Elizabeth's time a considerable addition was made to the landed possessions of this body corporate: in all probability, the most important acquisition of land which it could boast of since the donation of its great benefactor, King Athelstan.

Before we proceed to unfold the manner in which the burgesses of Malmesbury became possessed of this property, we shall notice its former proprietors. For this purpose it will be necessary to recur to a period previous to the Reformation, when probably the whole of the lands referred to belonged to the Knights Hospitalers; of whom some account has been already given. The inmates of the hospital here, like those in many parts of the kingdom, were possessed of great power and opulence; but the abbot and convent of Malmesbury had such influence over *this* establishment as rendered it in a great measure dependent on the monastery. It is probable that there was an intimate connexion also between the prior and brethren of this institution and the burgesses who may have occupied as tenants the lands appertaining to the hospital. In the year 1540, the Knights of St. John were expelled the kingdom, and their extensive possessions fell into the hands of the king. The lands and houses of Malmesbury were perhaps given or sold by Henry VIII. to one of his courtiers; for, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a part of them belonged to John Mersh and William Mersh, gentlemen, of London, who gave the portion they possessed to John Stumpe, Esq., of Malmesbury. The remainder was purchased by the

same gentleman of John Herbert and Andrew Palmer, citizens of London ; and the whole was transferred by Mr. Stumpe, in consideration of the sum of twenty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four-pence, to the burgesses then existing, for the use and in behalf of the alderman and burgesses of the borough of Malmesbury : to be held in free and common socage under the Queen's Manor of East Greenwich. This transaction took place in the year 1580.

These possessions are now charged with the payment of twenty pounds per annum, towards the support of a free-school and almshouse. When these foundations took place, or on what account, is uncertain. Perhaps similar charitable institutions had subsisted under the patronage of the Knights Hospitalers. If this was the case, however, they were probably set aside when that order was suppressed. No notice is taken of the shool or almshouse in the grant of Mr. Stumpe. It has been suggested that they were founded subsequent to the statute of 39th Eliz. 1597 ; which fixes the sum for the endowment of an hospital to be not less than ten-pounds. And the exact time may be more nearly conjectured from an original memorandum, whereby it appears that the allotments, or particular quota of each capital burgess, to make up the twenty pounds by quarterly payments, were settled June 22, 1629 ; about which time probably the school and almshouse were established on the present foundation.

From the unfortunate Charles I. the members of the corporation received a new charter, with additional privileges, in the year 1636. This grant is usually regarded as having altered, or at least modified, the constitution of the borough, by the creation of an alderman, twelve capital burgesses, and twenty-four assistants ; the alderman being endowed with the powers of a justice of the peace. But

though this seems to have been the first charter in which these branches of the body corporate are expressly mentioned, yet there are documents which tend to prove that there were twelve principal, or capital burgesses, and an alderman, who had an extraordinary share of the privileges and revenues of the corporation, long previous to this period. Indeed it is observable, that Ambrose Parris, otherwise Looker, who was the first alderman under this charter, bore the same office at the time of his appointment; and that all the persons named as capital burgesses had served the office of aldermen, though not in regular succession, as they do at present; for in some instances one person is found to have served as alderman for several years together.

It is not an improbable supposition that all the accessory branches of the corporation originated in the trading community before mentioned, called the *Merchants' Guild*; the members of which society appear to have consisted of the most wealthy and powerful individuals among the burgesses.—Whether this trading company continued in existence at this period is not certain. But it is not unlikely that the persons (twelve in number) to whom the lands of the Hospitalers were granted by Mr. Stumpe, may have been the governors of the guild; and on the acquisition of this property, the title of which may have been defective,* they probably thought that the royal charter erecting them into a privileged body, distinct from the other members of the corporation, would most firmly secure their newly gotten possessions. The capital burgesses, under the new charter, perhaps formed a kind of civic aristocracy; so that the

* This conjecture receives support from a passage in the charter of King William III., purporting that the premises in question had been concealed, or detained from government. Mr. Stumpe's grant, however, plainly shews how the corporation acquired this property, though the sum paid for it seems to have been much below its value, even at that period.

principal offices in the corporation may for some time have been in the hands of particular families. The benefits confirmed on this town by King Charles were repaid with loyalty by the inhabitants. This ill-fated monarch was entertained by the corporation in the Town Hall, during his short and hasty visit, in the time of the civil war.

Under the government of Cromwell it is probable that the townsfolks suffered in their fortunes for their attachment to the royal cause; and the decline of the commerce and manufactures of Malmesbury may with propriety be dated from this period. However, on the restoration of King Charles II. the corporation again suffered; for in consequence of the act of parliament which passed December 20, 1661, a writ of *quo warranto* was issued for the seizure of its charters, on which judgment passed and was entered on record; though it does not appear that the charters were surrendered. But in the ensuing reign a charter of confirmation was granted for restoring the corporation to its ancient privileges, nearly similar to that of Charles I. This appears to have been granted in consequence of the judgment in *quo warranto*, which had probably invalidated the former charters.

A few years after the revolution the members of the corporation forfeited all their civic privileges, for the alderman, capital burgesses, and all the officers and servants of the borough, except the high steward, Thomas Lord Wharton, had neglected to subscribe a certain association in an act of parliament passed November 22, 1695; entitled, 'an act for the better security of his majesty's royal person and government.' In consequence of this omission, they were incapacitated for the offices they had held; and the body corporate being deprived of its principal members, could no longer exercise its functions, but became extinct, in a political

point of view. Lord Wharton, however, so effectually pleaded the cause of the repentant burgesses, that a new and ample charter was granted them in the following year (1696). This charter extended the bounds of the borough; including within them the parishes of St. Paul, Malmesbury, St. Mary, Westport, and the precincts of the monastery, now called the Abbey Parish. It directs the election of a high steward, who is to act as a counsellor to the alderman and burgesses. It grants a power to meet in the Common Hall and hold councils, and make bye-laws for the government of the borough. It constitutes the alderman, high steward, and their deputies justices of the peace. It declares the alderman and capital burgesses to be a body corporate in fact, deed, and name; with power to make additions to their property, or to dispose of the same or any part of it. It proceeds to notice landed property vested in the alderman and capital burgesses. This consists chiefly of St. John's Hospital (now used as a school) and other lands and tenements to a considerable amount, situated in the counties of Wilts and Gloucester, which had been possessed by the Knights Hospitalers; the titles and occupations of which are specified at full length. It charges the corporation with the payment of twenty pounds per annum towards the support of a school and almshouse. It also confirms all the rights and privileges of the corporation, and ordains that the enrolment of the deed shall be good in law.

Besides the burgesses and assistants there are at present two orders of persons connected with the borough, styled landholders and commoners. The commoners, who are called free burgesses in the latter charters, are the lowest members of the corporation. Their necessary qualifications are that they must be sons or sons-in-law of capital or free burgesses, married, and parishioners inhabitant; and their

chief privileges were the liberty of turning cattle on the common of king's heath, and their eligibility to the office of landholders.

The common is now cultivated to a very high and creditable extent.

A situation between the assistant-burgesses and the commoners is occupied by the landholders, who are fifty-two in number. The office entitles them to the possession of an acre of land for life; and the vacancies in the class of assistant-burgesses are filled up from their body.

The mode of initiating a commoner into the privileges of a landholder may be considered as a relic of feudal polity.

The steward of the hundred goes into a field containing the acre he is about to possess, and cuts a turf of grass, and a twig from the hedge. The person then drops two shillings into the hole made by cutting the turf. The steward sticks the twig in the turf and delivers it to him, pronouncing the following lines:—

“This turf and twig I give to thee,
As free as Athelstan gave to me,
And I hope a loving brother thou wilt be.”

The steward having taken the money out of the hole, the new landholder replaces the turf. The money thus received by the steward is spent by the corporation at King Athelstan's Feast, which is kept on the second Tuesday after Trinity Sunday. Besides the officers noticed in the charter there are a steward of the capital burgesses, a steward of the assistants, a steward of the landholders, and a steward of the commoners. These are annually elected on the first Tuesday after Trinity.

This ancient corporation has undoubtedly undergone considerable alterations in its internal polity since its first

establishment ; notwithstanding which there are still some customs remaining, which point to those days of yore, when symbolic ceremonies superseded parchment conveyances.— The memory of their great benefactor, King Athelstan, is also still kept up by an annual feast which bears his name, when the capital burgesses are entertained at the expense of the corporation.

Thus we have given a short account of the most important occurrences in the history this borough ; of its civil constitution ; and of the principal privileges, pre-eminences, and emoluments enjoyed by the different classes of the body corporate. There was, however, one privilege which we have not yet noticed ; the right of electing members of parliament, which was claimed exclusively by the capital burgesses, as belonging to them from ancient custom, for no mention of it is made in any of the charters. How long this right had been exercised by the burgesses does not clearly appear ; it has not, however, been preserved. This privilege was rendered obsolete by the Reform Bill of 1832.

REPRESENTATIVE HISTORY.

This borough has sent members to parliament *ab origine*. The members were elected in the 1st and 2nd of Henry the Fifth, in the county court, as appears by the indenture of the county.

The earliest writ extant is dated the forty-ninth year of his reign, 1265. As before-mentioned, the borough of Malmesbury is usually considered as having been first summoned to return members to parliament in the twenty-third year of Edward I., but Dr. Brady, in his historical treatise upon boroughs, notices that the first returns extant of knights, citizens, and burgesses, are dated in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of that king. In that of Wiltshire for that

year, annexed to the writ, there were returned two knights for the county, two citizens for New Sarum, two burgesses for Downton, two for Devizes, two for Chippenham, and two for Malmesbury, with their manucaptors. It may be added that writs were sent to the constable of Merleberge and the bailiff of Calne and Wortle, who returned no answer. At this period, and for some time after, returns of members to parliament were made in a very irregular manner, for the members of many corporations neglected to exercise their electoral rights. Instances of this omission occurred in the twelfth year of Edward III., when, as Dr. Brady informs us, the sheriff made his precept only to the boroughs of Wilton and Downton; and what is remarkable, he closes his return thus: "*non sunt plures civitates, neque burgi infra ballivam meam.*" i.e., there are no more cities nor boroughs within my bailiwick or county: notwithstanding Bedwin, Calne, Chippenham, Cricklade, Devizes, Ludgershall, Marlborough, and Malmesbury, had often returned burgesses to parliament previous to this period, as appears from the records of returns in this and the two preceding reigns. In compliance with the writs issued in the thirty-sixth year of the reign of Edward III., two members were returned for the borough of Malmesbury, with their manucaptors; and also for nine other boroughs in this county—though Ludgershall did not send any members this year, notwithstanding it had exercised the right of election six times before this period. A similar omission of Ludgershall and three more boroughs occurred in the forty-third year of the same king's reign, but Malmesbury returned two burgesses that year.

From the date of the first return extant to the reign of Henry V. there are many returns for the borough of Malmesbury, by indenture between the sheriff and divers per-

sons, whose quality or situation in life is not noticed. The members are said to be returned *pro communitate* (for the community.)

In the thirty-third year of the reign of Henry VI.—1455—a separate indenture for Malmesbury was returned for the first time. This indenture is considerably mutilated. In it the alderman is described thus: *Aldermannus et unus Burgensium*. Fourteen more names have been made out; and there appears to have been several names obliterated, all of which are styled *Burgenses Burgi pdcti*. The election was made by them, and the common seal of the burgesses mentioned to be annexed; but the seal is destroyed.

There is extant a return by schedule annexed to the writ for the year 1447, in the reign of Edward IV. The names of some electors are given, and many other persons are said to have been present.

In the first year of the reign of Queen Mary there is an indenture between the sheriff and the alderman and burgesses, purporting that the election was made by the latter, and their common seal affixed to it. The old common seal made use of has this inscription: "*Conum figill' Burg' de Malmesbury.*" This is the second separate return for Malmesbury, and all the returns subject to the accession of Queen Mary are by separate indentures. In the following year is an indenture of return, which differs from the last, in omitting the alderman. From this time till the grant of a charter by Charles I. all the indentures represent the alderman and burgesses as the electors, and have their seal appended.

In the fifteenth year of the reign of Charles I. (1640) which was four years after the corporation had received its new charter, is an indenture similar to the former, only that it contains a clause asserting that the aldermen and bur-

have a right to make returns of members to serve in parliament, according to the ancient usage of the said borough, before the seizure or surrender of charters made in the time of King Charles II.

PETITIONS, &c.—January 7, 1673. A petition of Thomas Howard, Esq., complaining of an undue return of Thomas Estcourt, Esq., by Edward Browne, alderman and chief officer of this town.

May 11, 1675. Sir Thomas Meres reported concerning this election that Sir Thomas Estcourt is well elected.

On January 15th, 1689, a return was made by the aldermen, according to the ancient usage of the borough, by the free and unanimous consent of the capital burgesses, fifteen assistants, nineteen landholders, and twenty-seven commoners; in all, seventy-two persons.

On this occasion it plainly appears that all the different members of the corporation exercised their civic rights as electors, since it would be absurd to suppose that the assistants, landholders, and commoners subscribed their names merely as witnesses to the election.

Four years previous to this return Colonel Wharton had preferred a petition against the usurpation of the capital burgesses, in support of the rights of the other branches. This petition, it is true, was not tried, because the parliament was dissolved before the day of trial arrived. However, this gentleman was elected again, January 15, 1682, by the joint interest of his former friends and those that had before opposed him.

Mr. Wharton having been chosen for another place, for which he took his seat, a fresh election was made January 30, 1689, which differed from the former in nothing but the number of electors whose names were subscribed to the re-

turn.

In the year 1691 there is an indenture purporting that the election was made by the alderman, with the whole assent and consent of the rest of the burgesses; having appended to it the common seal of the alderman and burgesses.

In the following year a return was made, which is said to have been with the assent of the capital burgesses; but it has the common seal with the last attached to it.

In 1696 a similar return took place.

December 12, 1698. A petition of Craven Howard, Esq., complaining of an undue return of Mr. Michael Wicks and Mr. Edward Pouncefort, by divers indirect and corrupt practices of William Odey, an officer of the borough.

December 14. A petition of Sir Thomas Skipwith, Bart., to the same effect.

March 29, 1699. Sir Rowland Gwynn reported touching the said election, "that the poll was for Mr. Wicks 9—Mr. Pouncefort 6—Mr. Howard 6—Sir Thomas Skipwith 3.

That the right of election was agreed to be in the alderman and twelve capital burgesses.

Sir Thomas Skipwith attempted to vacate the election for bribery, and several witnesses were called, amongst whom Edward Brown, one of the burgesses who voted for Mr. Wicks and Mr. Pouncefort, and four others; but the petitioner's counsel owning that the last four had given bond to Brown, to save him harmless from any damage the said Brown might suffer by the discovery, the committee thought them so affected by the bond that they could not be witnesses.

Pauley said Mr. Odey told him an hour after the election he had not got much, but however he would engage that

the gentleman who gave most money should be parliament man for this borough.

Resolved, "That Michael Wicks and Edward Pauncefort, Esquires, are duly elected."

Upon the second reading, ordered to be recommitted, when the petitioner's counsel declaring they could not produce the above-mentioned bond, they were not allowed to proceed.

February 18, 1700. A petition of Michael Wicks, Esq., against Samuel Shepherd, junr., for bribery, &c.

Resolved, "That it appears to this House that Samuel Shepherd, senior, is guilty of procuring an election of a burgess for this borough by bribery."

Resolved, "That William Odey is also guilty of the like offence."

Ordered, "That the said Mr. Odey be for the said offence taken into the custody of the serjeant-at-arms."

Ordered, that Samuel Shepherd, junr., Esq., be discharged from being a member of this House."

January 14, 1701. A petition of several of the burgesses and inhabitants of this borough; complaining of an undue return of Sir Charles Hedges and Edward Pauncefort, Esq., by William Odey, an attorney, and others—his accomplices—corruptly treating and contracting with several persons to procure their election.

The House being informed that Mr. William Odey, of this town, was at the door with a sum of money and a bank bill given him in order to the late election for this borough, he was called in; and, at the bar, delivered into the House a bag of gold and a bank bill for £200, which he said he received from Daniel Park, Esq.

Resolved, "That Sir Charles Hedges, knight, and

Edward Pauncefort, Esq., are duly elected."

Resolved, "That the petition of several of the burgesses and inhabitants of this borough is scandalous, false, and vexatious."

Ordered, "That James Croome, Edward Sansum, Edward Brown, John Waite, and Joshua Hancock, some of the said petitioners, be for the said offence taken into the custody of the serjeant-at-arms."

Resolved, "That Daniel Park, Esq., is guilty of notorious bribery and corruption in endeavouring to procure himself elected a burgess to serve in parliament for this borough."

Ordered, "That Daniel Park, Esq., be for his said offence taken into the custody of the serjeant-at-arms, and that Mr. Attorney-General do prosecute the said Daniel Park, Esq., for the said crime."

Resolved, "That Gould, schoolmaster, is guilty of corrupt practices."

Resolved, "That Charles, Earl of Peterborough, is guilty of divers indirect practices in endeavouring to procure Daniel Park, Esq., to be elected a burgess to serve in this present parliament for this borough."

This petition seems to have had some effect, notwithstanding the candidate who preferred it did not succeed; for at the election which took place shortly after, on the accession of Queen Ann, in 1702, the right of voting was exercised in its fullest extent by all the incorporators; the word *capital* being omitted in the return, which is said to have been made by the alderman, with the consent of the rest of the burgesses.

But the capital burgesses soon reassumed the exclusive management of the elections; and in some of the following years the other branches of the corporation were un-

noticed. In the indenture of return relating the election of 1715, the members are said to have power '*pro burgo prædicto.*'

November 6, 1705. A petition of Edward Pauncefort and Thomas Boncher, Esquires, complaining of an undue return of Henry Mordaunt and Thomas Farrington, Esq., by treats, bribery, and other illegal practices by themselves and their agents.—No report.

November 24, 1708. A petition of Edward Pauncefort, Esq.—Jan., 1809. Withdrawn.

No candidate appearing to support the popular interest, the borough remained quiet till the year 1722. In which year a contested election happened, in consequence of a division among the capital burgesses themselves.

October 18, 1722. Giles Earle and John Fermor, Esq., petitioned, complaining of an undue return of Lord Hilsborough and Sir John Rushout, by partiality of James Tyley (alderman) bribery, and other indirect practices.

Several witnesses were examined, amongst whom, Johannah, wife of Gowen Hart, one of the capital burgesses, said Lord Hilsborough offered her 1000 guineas for her husband's vote, for him and Floyd, and she telling his lordship that her husband had promised his vote; His lordship then answered he would then be the ruin of her husband and all his family; and would disburgess him, and take away his estate; that at another time before this his lordship offered 500 guineas to get her husband's vote.

Thomas Young, another witness, said Mr. Thomas Earle applied to him on behalf of Colonel Earle, offered him £200 a-piece, and more if that would not do, for as many burgesses as he could get for Colonel Earle, and upon witness refusing, he offered him further a place under govern-

ment of £100 a-year, which might in a little time be £500 a-year.

Charles Wallington said Mr. Shewring, solicitor for the petitioners, offered him £200 for his vote for them, and said his son should have the first parsonage worth £150 per annum, vacant in the gift of the crown.

December 13, 1722. Sir John Rushout, Bart., and Trevor, Viscount Hillsborough, were declared not duly elected. Their seats were filled by Giles Earle and John Fermor, Esquires.

October 17, 1796. James John Vassar, Esq., and several of the inhabitants petitioned against the election of Samuel Smith and Peter Isaac Thelluson, Esquires. The petitions contained an account, at some length, of the proceedings at the election, and stated that the right of election did not belong to the alderman and capital burgesses, but to the burgesses at large. The contrary was alleged by the sitting members, and the committee determined, November 7, that the sitting members were duly elected, and that the petitions were not frivolous or vexatious.

On November 17, 1796, a writ was ordered for a meeting of the committee at the room of the committee. Mr. Vassar, Esq., who had made his election, and Mr. Thelluson, Esq., was returned; and Mr. Smith, Esq., again petitioned, and made his election as before. A committee was appointed to consider the petition, and on November 24, 1798, against the return of the committee in 1797, which was affirmed; but on

The chief magistrate retains the ancient name of Elder-man, and is so styled in all the borough records which are extant, afterwards changed into Alderman, from the Saxon word *auld*, which signifies *old*.

votes should be at the will of a particular individual. I shall shew you, sir, in what manner, by what means, and how the business has been conducted before and since Mr. Estcourt has had the management of the corporation, which, as we are told, consists of an alderman and twelve burgesses, besides which are twenty-four assistants, out of whom the burgesses are elected ; and there is also a person under the denomination of high-steward, and that situation is now and has for some time been filled by Mr. Estcourt, whose duty as prescribed by the charter is to counsel and direct the burgesses : but he in point of fact, and practical effect, controls the alderman and the burgesses in everything which relates to their choosing members to represent the borough in parliament. Mr. Estcourt, himself, who is the high-steward of the borough, is an officer who is chosen annually, and into which office he has been elected twice. He is chosen by the alderman and twelve burgesses on Trinity Tuesday, and the alderman is chosen annually on the same Trinity Tuesday ; any vacancy among the twelve capital burgesses is supplied by the alderman and surviving burgesses, by election, out of the twenty-four assistants. Now, sir, you will find that this situation of high-steward is from some practices which have prevailed in this borough, a situation of very considerable importance ; a situation which was filled before Mr. Estcourt had it by a gentleman of the name of Wilkins, who died in May, 1804. During his life Mr. Estcourt, who was introduced to the burgesses as the agent of Mr. Wilkins, solicited to succeed him, and a contest arose upon that subject, in which Mr. Estcourt was successful. He has been elected twice to that office, as I have already stated to the committee, and he now fills it. Now, sir, I will prove to this committee that at the time Mr. Estcourt canvassed for the situation of high-steward, an office which he now holds, and also since he obtained it upon a reference being expressly made to what had passed at this place at the time of Mr. Wilkins, that he, Mr. Estcourt, publicly stated, expressly stated, that he should hold that office, and conduct himself in respect of it exactly on the same terms as Mr. Wilkins had done. That he should do the same as Mr. Wilkins had done. You will find him, sir, canvassing the borough, and stating expressly to the electors of it, by way of inducement to their choosing him, that he should do in all respects what Mr. Wilkins had done ; and then, sir, the question will be, what were the terms and what the relations which subsisted between the high-steward and burgesses of this borough when Mr. Wilkins held that office ; for, as it was held by Mr.

The town received its charter from Athelstan, the Saxon King, and Henry the Fourth, by his charter, dated July 2, 1411, recites by *inspeximus* a charter of the 5th of Richard the Second, by which the foregoing charter of Athelstan had been confirmed.

Wilkins, so it was avowedly promised to be, and so it was, and is actually held by Mr. Estcourt. Now, sir, you will find that Mr. Wilkins, who had a house in the neighbourhood of Malmesbury, in return for the property he derived by the sale of the suffrages of the electors of the borough, and by the return to parliament of members of his own denomination, gave to the burgesses a valuable pecuniary consideration. The course was this : to allow to each burgess an annuity of £30 a year on condition that such burgess should vote for any person whom Mr. Wilkins should nominate ; and for the due performance of this stipulation Mr. Wilkins took bonds in the penalty of five hundred pounds each of the electors ; thus taking care to secure to himself their votes, that the electors should do their duty, as it was called, for the annuity which they received ; that is to say that each voter should vote for any person whom Mr. Wilkins should nominate as a member of parliament for the borough of Malmesbury, on Mr. Wilkins giving to every voter an annuity of £30 a-year. Thus the high-steward of the borough of Malmesbury took from each of the burgesses of that borough a bond, in the penalty of £500, conditioned for the due performance of the agreement that such burgess should vote for any person whom he, the high-steward, should nominate to be member of parliament for that borough ; while he, the high steward, contracted on his part to allow to such voter the yearly sum of £30. This sum to be paid to each voter on Trinity Tuesday, as the burgesses elected him their high steward. Thus Mr. Wilkins secured at once his own return as high-steward, and also the return of his own nominee to be a member of parliament to represent this borough. This is perfectly well understood in that place, and the business was carried on regularly and without interruption ; but the money (I mean the £30 a year) was a little clandestinely and indeed whimsically paid ; sometimes it was conveyed under a cabbage, and sometimes, I understand, it was left in a more indecorous manner in a chamber utensil that had been used by Mr. Wilkins after a feast which he gave to the burgesses ; and this was done in a manner that was unobserved by those who might be present at the banquet, but who having nothing to give in return for it, were not admitted into the secret : but whenever this money was paid it was done in a manner which plainly shewed that the parties were ashamed of what they were doing. Mr. Wilkins was punctual in the payment of his money for this laudable purpose for a while, but he

The charter of King Athelstan is again recited in the 11th of Charles the First, which created a select body out of the freemen at large, consisting of an elderman or alderman, twelve capital burgesses, and twenty-four assistants.

afterward, fell into arrear, and continued so up to the time of his death, for he died before he made his annual payments to the electors of this borough ; and to make up for the contingency of the electors losing by his death, he made his will, and by that will he left five hundred pounds to be divided among the capital burgesses, and of which they were all to participate, except one person of the name of Hill, who had offended him by voting contrary to his wishes. But with respect to the rest of the case, the only way in which it can be discussed is, by considering whether the way in which Mr. Estcourt acted, or rather in which Mr. Wilkins acted, for Mr. Estcourt declared over and over again that he should act in the same manner as Mr. Wilkins, his predecessor, acted, is as I have stated. That way was perfectly well known to Mr. Estcourt, for he was with Mr. Wilkins, acting as his agent, and managed affairs for him sometime before his death. That Mr. Estcourt was perfectly initiated into the mysteries of this borough sometime before the death of Mr. Wilkins. All which, I have no doubt, will be clearly explained by Mr. Estcourt when he comes into the witness box to be examined upon this subject, of which nobody knows more than himself. We shall then hear whether Mr. Estcourt will contradict that statement or not ; I mean as to what passed between Mr. Wilkins and the electors of this borough before he, Mr. Estcourt, was a principal actor in the scene. We shall hear from Mr. Estcourt, if the learned counsel for the sitting members shall venture to call him, what the practice was of this borough in matters of election of members to serve in parliament, previous to his being steward of it ; for to that subject he is not only competent, but a good and, perhaps, the best witness, because he was in a confidential situation, being employed by, and having the management of, the most interesting concerns of the borough, which Mr. Wilkins was concerned in. And after the death of Mr. Wilkins, Mr. Estcourt succeeded to all his powers in this borough. That is a proposition which will not be disputed, because it cannot be disputed that Mr. Estcourt solicited the burgesses that he should succeed Mr. Wilkins in the office of high-steward of this borough ; nor can it be disputed that Mr. Estcourt succeeded in his endeavours to obtain the object of that solicitation. Why, then, sir, I have only to prove what the habit of Mr. Wilkins was in the conduct of this borough, and then the declaration of Mr. Estcourt that he would do as Mr. Wilkins had done. By that declaration I contend Mr. Estcourt will be concluded, for he declared expressly that he should do the same as Mr.

The alderman to be elected every year by the existing alderman and twelve capital burgesses from among the capital burgesses.

Wilkins had done in this borough, thereby referring to the conduct of Mr. Wilkins, who was his predecessor in the office of high-steward, and manager of the political concerns of the borough. Now, sir, you will find that Mr. Estcourt has done honour to his engagements with the burgesses of this borough ; that the engagement between him and them has been, as we should expect them to be, by a man of his honour and integrity, faithfully fulfilled on his part. You will find, sir, that Mr. Estcourt has not only fulfilled to the letter, but also to the spirit, his engagement with the electors of this borough ; for you will find, sir, that although Mr. Estcourt only promised to do exactly the same as Mr. Wilkins did, yet that Mr. Estcourt like a conscientious man, considered the value of money, that is, the comparative value of money at the time he became master of the borough, and that of his predecessor, Mr. Wilkins, being the disposer of it ; and with that feeling Mr. Estcourt raised the annuity from £30 to £50 a-year. In this I do not blame Mr. Estcourt, but I should rather commend him, for things are dearer now than they were when his predecessor had the sale of this borough. We live in better times now than then, and why should not the price of men's vows or their consciences rise, as well as any article in the market. Mr. Estcourt, having faithfully and honourably performed what he stipulated with the burgesses of this borough, has been by them as faithfully and honourably elected every year into the office of its high steward, and as such officer Mr. Estcourt has taken a house in Malmesbury, called Culver House, not for any constant residence which he has there, but merely for the purposes of these elections, and where he received the burgesses, and (what will be of itself sufficient ground for the committee setting aside this election, by declaring it void) treated the burgesses on the Wednesday preceeding the election. This was at Culver House just before the election.

Then, sir, I have to state to this committee it was in this way that Mr. Estcourt conducted himself at the time of the last election for the borough of Malmesbury. That Mr. Estcourt is the gentleman who has managed this business is beyond all doubt. I will prove to you, sir, by a variety of circumstances, which preceded the actual election, that these two gentlemen, Mr. Ladbrook and Mr. Colbourn, who are absolutely strangers to this place, never gave themselves any trouble concerning it. That neither of them was even personally present either at the election or at any time previous to it ; that neither of them ever canvassed one of the electors. It is usual, you know, sir, for gentlemen who aspire to the honour of a seat in parliament to solicit the

The office of capital burgess to be for life ; and vacancies to be supplied by election of the alderman, and the rest of the capital burgesses, from among the twenty-four assistants.

suffrages of those whom they wish to represent. But here there was no such thing. You need not trouble yourself with any canvassing here. In some places that is very necessary, and troublesome enough it is on many occasions ; but never mind it here, leave that to Mr. Estcourt ; he will manage your election without putting you to the trouble of asking a single voter : indeed, who is there to ask ; since all the voters are annuitants of Mr. Estcourt, on condition that they shall vote annually for him as their high-steward, and for whomsoever he chooses, as a burgess, when a vacancy occurs, to keep up the number of twelve ; and, finally, to vote for the nominee of Mr. Estcourt, even without knowing the name of the nominee until the hour of election of a member to serve in parliament ! Canvassing, therefore, is a burthen which those who chose to represent this borough are exempted from. I will prove to you, sir, that Mr. Estcourt made application for the writ for obvious reasons ; for the purpose of getting a little advantage which, we all know, arises from the possession of the writ, and also to the precept upon that writ, which warrants the procedure of an election. He wished to have both in the most convenient manner. He was disappointed, however, in one of these objects, namely, in the application of the writ, which he did not obtain according to his wishes ; but he knew that he was sure of succeeding with the under sheriff in his application for the precept. Accordingly he applied for and obtained that precept of the under sheriff, through the medium of a gentleman who was his clerk. I will prove that fact as a preliminary to show the connection of Mr. Estcourt with this election, as introductory to the proof of his being the actual manager of it altogether. I will prove also that Mr. Estcourt paid the customary fee on this occasion on the return of the election whatever that fee is, the sum I am not at present apprised of ; but be it what it may, Mr. Estcourt paid it. I will then prove to you, sir, the nomination of the candidates by Mr. Estcourt ; in truth, the burgesses of this borough never would have known anything of these two gentlemen who are the sitting members without the assistance of Mr. Estcourt ; if they had not been nominated by Mr. Estcourt these two gentlemen would never have been heard of ; indeed, so little were they known to those who are made to choose them as their representatives in parliament, that Mr. Estcourt was under the necessity of saying to them by way of explanation of what they were to do : " Gentlemen, you have been addressed on behalf of Mr. Ladbrook and Mr. Colbourn, who are candi-

By this charter the right of electing chief magistrate and other justices was taken from the forty-eight land-owners; and the whole body of commoners who constituted the population of the ancient city—now borough—of Malmesbury, and confined to a select body of thirteen, for even the twenty-four assistants were to have no voice in the election of alderman and capital burgesses, but this new-made corporation was to exclude all the freemen from municipal rights. The whole of the governing power is by this charter committed to the thirteen, over all the inhabitants residents in the borough, nor are any provisions made concerning the free burgesses who were the commoners or corporators at large.

Nothing was now wanting but a special resolution of a committee of the House of Commons to deprive the people of this town of all political rights whatever, and that actually followed on the 29th of March, 1639, when the right of election was first determined to be in the *alderman*

monger and cooper, and a man of some property, and him I shall examine as a witness, by whose testimony we shall endeavour to make out part of our case. The second person whose vote was given, and which we say ought to be struck on the grounds which I have already stated, is Richard Neate. Perhaps the committee will think it worth while to take down these names :—Richard Neate ; he was a small jobber, and let out a horse to hire, and now rents some lands. He is the second whom I object to, on the grounds already stated to the committee. The third is George Russell ; he was a tailor, a person who I understand to have been in the most needy circumstances, and continued to work at his trade until the death of Mr. Wilkins, when he left off his business and has since purchased a house of John Hook, at one hundred pounds. The fourth is Thomas Nichols, who is a hatter, and he is possessed of a small estate. The fifth, and last that voted, is Edward Ponting, who kept a small garden, and rented two small closes of Mr. Wilkins, as garden ground : the two closes were given up. His chief employment, I understand, to be that of going to farm-houses to kill pigs ; so that you see, sir, these four persons, who voted at this election, were persons who, before they were called to fill the situation of

and twelve capital burgesses. The same was confirmed by another committee on the 13th December, 1722, and again the 10th of May. 1797.

burgesses, were in a very inferior condition of life. With respect to Spackman, the alderman, I will prove to you, sir, that upon application to him to vote for Lord Peterborough to succeed Mr. Wilkins as high-steward, he answered in the negative. He refused to give his vote. He was endeavoured to be prevailed with, but he answered that he should not vote in that way, for that Mr. Estcourt held the money which he had for the seats only for the electors : that Mr. Estcourt said he should not get a penny by it for himself, but that, after paying his expenses—that is, the money which he was out of pocket merely—he should divide the rest among the burgesses, saying to a witness whom we shall produce to the committee, you know they (meaning Mr. Estcourt) have the majority. Mr. Estcourt has behaved very well, and agreed to give the burgesses all the money he received from the members. And, to another witness, Mr. Spackman said that he and the other burgesses, the friends of Mr. Estcourt, might have what they would at the Tetbury bank. Thus, you will find, Mr. Spackman, the alderman and returning officer of this borough, has declared that Mr. Estcourt had promised to provide amongst the burgesses all the money which he should receive of the members for their seats. I will also prove to you, sir, by persons who were witnesses to them, that certain bonds (which bonds, I believe, are now destroyed by the executors of Mr. Wilkins) were given to Mr. Wilkins in his lifetime by several of the burgesses, in the penalty of five hundred pounds, conditioned for their voting for the nominee of Mr. Wilkins at the election for this borough, as a consideration for the annuity of thirty pounds a-year. I do not know that I shall be able to produce any of these bonds, because, as I have said already, I am afraid they are all destroyed ; whether one of them is preserved I know not, but I believe I shall be able to prove the destruction of them, and, perhaps, I shall be able to prove the actual payment of the annuity of thirty pounds a-year to some of the burgesses, in the lifetime of Mr. Wilkins. I shall begin this part of the case by proving that Mr. Wilkins held the office of high-steward for this borough for many years ; that he was a person of great interest in the borough. I will then show that the voters bound themselves in a large penalty to him to vote for his nominee. I will call a person before the committee who signed a bond to that effect, in consideration of the annuity which Mr. Wilkins paid to him ; and who will prove that this payment was made annually, a short time after Trinity Tuesday, for that is the day for the annual election of the municipal officers of the borough. Mr. Wilkins died in May, 1804, a little while before he was to have made his annual

How the right of election which had existed in the freemen at large from the earliest times could exclusively belong to a new body of men created only in the eleventh year of the reign of Charles the First, we leave the reader to determine; but this resolution does not transfer this invaluable right from the freemen at large to the corporation, but only to a *third part of that body*. The twenty-four assistants are excluded from the right of election as well as the land-owners and commoners, and only thirteen out of thirty-seven, who compose the corporation, are allowed to vote in the choice of members for this borough.

The history of Malmesbury displays the manner in which the right of election has been limited to exclusive bodies unknown to the original constitution of the country in all those boroughs where such singular rights prevail. In one place *burgesses*, which are inhabitants of boroughs, have

payment of these annuities to the voters. Mr. Estcourt, sometime before the death of Mr. Wilkins, applied to the burgesses that they would elect him as the successor of Mr. Wilkins, alleging it was the wish of Mr. Wilkins that Mr. Estcourt should succeed him in the management of the borough, although the truth of that is doubtful, for it is suspected that Mr. Wilkins's wishes were against Mr. Estcourt. Be that as it may, Mr. Estcourt certainly succeeded, and he is now the steward of this borough in the same manner as Mr. Wilkins was. He does not, however, on the same terms as Mr. Wilkins had the management of this borough, he does not pay only that he pays fifty pounds a-year to each voter, whereas Mr. Wilkins paid only thirty pounds. Mr. Estcourt promised that if he was elected steward and had the management of the borough, that he would pay on the same terms as Mr. Wilkins did; that he should give the same consideration to the voters as Mr. Wilkins had done. That the witness which I have mentioned gave this consideration himself; and that he voted for Mr. Estcourt on this consideration."

In 1707, the committee who tried the case found that the members duly elected, and that the petition was frivolous or vexatious.

body were by a decree of their superiors deprived of their title to assist in choosing members of parliament. But few attempts have been subsequently made to regain the privilege, and these have been almost entirely unsuccessful.

In the reign of William III., as we before stated, a new charter was granted to this borough, all the members of it, except Lord Wharton, the steward, having forfeited their offices by neglecting to subscribe the association mentioned in the act for the better securing his majesty's royal person and government. It is, except in a few particulars, a mere copy of the charter of Charles I.: the material variations are these, the deputy-alderman and the steward are created justices of the peace, as well as the alderman.

The persons who compose this corporation are of that description as to excite universal ridicule. It frequently happens that neither the chief magistrate nor his deputy can either write or read, and are consequently obliged to make their mark to all warrants and other documents requiring their signature. In answer to a bill in chancery lately filed against them, ten out of the thirteen who compose this worshipful body were under the necessity of affixing this token of identity.

It is scarcely necessary to add that this body is selected from the lowest and most ignorant of the people as the most proper instruments for the use that is made of them. At the same time Malmesbury possesses among her resident inhabitants many respectable bankers, professional men, and opulent tradesmen, who might fill these offices with credit and reputation.

Such were the select body in whom the exclusive right of electing members of Parliament was vested: and such on the other hand were the persons precluded by the present borough system from exercising the first right of British

citizens.

The burgesses were deprived of their exclusive privileges by the Reform Bill of 1832, and one member only is now returned in the manner usual in other boroughs.

In some boroughs the right of electing was allowed to all the inhabitants of the borough who dressed their own food, as at Taunton ; in others this right was attached to persons dwelling in some particular houses, as at Westbury ; in some cases the right of choosing members for a borough was extended to all the freeholders of the hundred in which it is situated, as at Cricklade ; again it was circumscribed to the members of a corporation. We have before observed that in former times the obligation to elect members of parliament was considered as a hardship. This was at a period when those who were returned were so far from paying for their seats, that they received a settled stipend from their constituents. Probably this circumstance may in some measure account for the unequal distribution of elective rights ; for the privilege of sending members to parliament may have been coveted by a particular class of the inhabitants of one town, when a similar class in another may have been equally unable and unwilling to receive the same favour.

Before we conclude the civil history of Malmesbury it will be proper to lay before the reader such information as can be collected relating to the manor.

The earliest account upon record concerning the exercise of seignorial jurisdiction over this district is the relation which William of Malmesbury gives of the deed whereby Lutherius, bishop of the West Saxons, transferred to Aldhelm the territory of Malmesbury. It is not, however, quite clear that this was an absolute transfer of manorial property ; for Leland informs us that a King of the West Saxons and

a bishop of Winchester were the founders of this abbey. Therefore, it may be inferred that the charter of Lutherius was the joint act of Kenewalch, King of Wessex, and the bishop. It appears probable that the land here referred to was of no great extent, for it is said to have been called Maildulfesburch, which denomination is supposed to have been derived from the name of the abbot Maildulf, or Meyldulf; and consequently is likely to have been restricted to the precincts of the monastery which he had erected; or, at most, only to have included the neighbouring village and castle of Ingleburne.

In after times it plainly appears that the regular jurisdiction of the abbot did not extend over the town, but was confined to the abbey, with its various offices and appendages; which, however, occupied a considerable portion in land. For in the charter granted by Edward the Confessor in 1065, the property then pertaining to the monastery is recited, but the town of Malmesbury is entirely omitted. At that period it appears to have formed part of the royal demesnes.

That valuable record of the state of landed property in this kingdom, in the reign of William I., which is usually styled Domesday-book, shews that Malmesbury then belonged to the crown; and the revenues which it yielded sufficiently demonstrate its importance, as the following abstract will evince:—

“The king has 26 messuages in the borough of Malmesberie, and 25 other messuages, that pay no taxes. These houses pay 10 pence each, as rent, in all 42 shillings and sixpence. Half a ruined messuage, part of the fee of the Bishop of Bayeux, does no services. The abbot of Malmesberie has 4 messuages and a half, and the out-burgesses have 9 cottagers, (*coscœ*) who are assessed with the burgesses. The

abbot of Glastonbury has 2 messuages. Edward the sheriff 3 messuages. Radulf de Mortemer has 1 and a half. Durand de Gloucestre, 1 and a half. William de Ow, 1. Humphrey de L'isle, 1. Osbern Giffard, 1. Alured de Merlebergh has half a ruined messuage. Geoffry Mariscal the like. Tovi has 1 messuage and the fourth part of another. Drogo, the son of Ponz, half a one. The wife of Edric has one. Roger de Berchelei holds one under the king; Ernulf de Hesding the like, which he unguardedly took possession of. These two do no services. The king has a waste spot of land which belonged to Azor."

"The king receives—from the third penny of Malmesberie 6 pounds."

"Walter Hosed pays the king 8 pounds from 2 parts of the borough of Malmesberie, and the borough itself paid as much T.R.E. (*Tempore Regis Edvardi*.—i.e., in the time of King Edward the Confessor), and the pleas of the hundreds of *Cicentone* and *Sutelesburg* were holden in this manor, which belonged to the king. The borough pays one hundred shillings in money. The Earl of Harold had an acre of land in this borough, in which are four messuages and six others ruinous, and a mill pays 10 shillings. All this paid T.R.E. 100 shillings; and when the king undertook any expedition, by sea or land, he accepted either 20 shillings toward the maintenances of his sailors, or took with him one man for the honour of 5 hides."

"The bishop (of Contances) holds Malmesberie. Gislebert held it T.R.E. when it was assessed at 1 hide. Here is half a plough-land. Three yard-lands are in demesne, where is the half a plough-land, with 3 borders (*bordatti*.) Here are four acres of meadow, and the pasture is in length 2 furlongs, and in breadth 1. It is worth 13 shillings."

"Chetel holds 1 hide in Malmesberie. Godwin held it

T.R.E. Here is one plough-land, which is in demesne with 2 borderers (*bordarii*.) Here are 6 acres of meadow; and the pasture is 3 furlongs in length, and half a furlong broad. It is worth 20 shillings."

In order to explain in some measure the above extracts, it is necessary to observe that during the existence of feudal tenures in England, nearly the whole of the kingdom was divided into a number of manors; some of which the king kept in his own hands, and the rest were granted to certain persons, on condition of their rendering knight's service. These were called tenants *in capite*; and some of these tenures continued till they were set aside by the statute 12 Car. II., cap. 24. The manors which were thus held of the crown were leased out by the lord to others under certain conditions. The *dominium* or demesne was usually kept by the lord himself, and was overlooked and tended by his *servi*, or slaves; with respect to whom he possessed a power as absolute as a West India planter formerly possessed over his negroes. The rest of the manor was allotted to the *vellani*, *bordarii*, *coliberti*, *coscecz*, and *botarii*, who were obliged to perform certain services in return for the lands they occupied. From these several orders of sub-tenants have arisen the various kinds of leasehold, copyhold, and lifehold tenures which at present exist.

The *coscecz* and *bordarii* alone are mentioned in the preceding extracts. The former of these, who are sometimes called *coshes*, *i.e.* couchees (for the word seems to be derived from the French *coucher*, to lie down), were obliged to furnish their lord and his retinue with lodgings whenever they chose to demand it. The service which the *bordarii* were obliged to perform was that of furnishing the lord with poultry, eggs, and other menial provisions. Probably the *bordarii* (borderers) were so called from their living on the

frontiers or borders of manors which were in early times no doubt waste and uncultivated. Perhaps on this account they supported themselves by feeding fowls, &c., only, as the nature of the land prevented them from raising grain.

The other terms mentioned in the extracts refer to the measurement of arable land.

Richard Frampton, who was the last abbot, resigned the monastery and its revenues into the hands of the king, December 15, 1539. The lordship of Malmesbury did not continue long in the possession of Henry, for in the year 1545 he sold the site of the abbey and the surrounding demesne for fifteen hundred pounds, to William Stumpe, Esq., of Malmesbury.

How long it continued in the possession of this gentleman and his family is uncertain; indeed, after this period nothing but a few detached memorandums relative to the manor have fallen under our notice. It appears that some persons of respectability, named Stumpe, were connected with this town during the interval between the reign of Henry VIII. and that of James I., but we cannot affirm that they were lords of the manor.

In the seventh year of Queen Elizabeth, Henry Knevett, Esq., laid claim to the demesne in question, and we may infer from a deed whereby he granted the abbey to the townsmen for a parish church that he was proprietor of it in the following year, which is the date of the grant. It seems that Mr. Knevett did not keep undisturbed possession of his new acquisition, for in the tenth year of this queen's reign William Pore, *alias* Capper, claimed the manor of Malmesbury, but we are ignorant of the result of his attempt.

Ann Warneford, widow, died, seized of the site of the manor of Malmesbury, in 1631, and William Plomer, son of

Ann, wife of — Plomer, and third daughter of the above Ann Warneford, was found to be the heir. William Cole, of Bristol, was at that time lessee of the above lands.

From Fuller's Church History we learn that Thomas Ivey, Esq., held it in 1656.

In 1671 Godwyn Wharton, Esq., was lord of the manor. This gentleman's family, and also that of the Warnefords, were related to the Stumpes, as appears from a monument in the abbey church. Mr. Wharton, who served as a member of parliament for Malmesbury in the year 1695, seems to have been possessor of the manor for a number of years.

In 1700 the manor belonged to Thomas, Lord Wharton, afterwards Marquis of Wharton and Malmesbury. He died in 1715, and Philip, who in 1718 was created Duke of Wharton, succeeded to it. The next proprietors appear to have been Maria Theresa, Duchess Dowager of Wharton, (the Duke's widow) and Sir Charles Kemyes and Sir Christopher Musgrave, Baronets, who about the year 1750 sold it to Sir John Rushout, Baronet, one of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council.

In 1760 Sir John gave it to his son, the late Lord Northwick, on his coming of age; a gift which he afterwards confirmed by his will. He died in the year 1775.

The late lord enjoyed the manor till the time of his death, which happened in 1800, and by his will devised the same to his widow, the Right Hon. Lady Northwick, in whose family it now is.

This town, as is noticed above, gave the title of Marquis to the family of Wharton. The title became extinct on the death of Philip, Duke of Wharton, in 1731.

Malmesbury now gives the titles of Baron and Earl to the Right Honourable James (Harris) Earl of Malmesbury,.

Viscount Fitzharris, of Ham-Court, in the county of Southampton, Baron Malmesbury, and Knight of the most honourable Order of the Bath.

The fact that Malmesbury Common was given to the town of Malmesbury nearly one thousand years ago in acknowledgement of services in fighting against the Danes is generally known, but there are many details of interest attaching to this place which the thoughtful may well ponder over. Lord Palmerston used to quote, as an answer to those who asked him to abolish the laws of entail and primogeniture, that there still lives in the New Forest the direct lineal successor of the man who conveyed the body of William Rufus from the New Forest to Winchester after the fatal shot from the bow of Sir Walter Tyrrell, which accidentally deprived the King of life. As a reward for these services, he was given a plot of land in the Forest for himself and male heirs for ever. The line has been preserved until the present day, and of this fact Lord Palmerston always made the most. He might, however, have quoted the fact of King's Heath, which was given to the people of Malmesbury over a hundred years before the death of Rufus, and is still enjoyed by the inhabitants of that town, many of them being direct lineal descendants of the men of the days of King Athelstan. There is, therefore, an interest attaching to the good old town of Malmesbury that can never fade. Everything in the neighbourhood of Malmesbury carries back the mind into the past, and it is difficult to believe when not actually in the town and in sight and hearing of the various branches of industry there going forward that one is living in the nineteenth century. Looking over this corporation ground, one would not be in the slightest surprised, and for a moment while in that mood, not consider it extraordinary if the "stout King

Athelstan" should himself appear riding at the head of his victorious army returning from the conquest of the Danes. The very air that blows around Shade Hill, fresh from the woods and winding river, whispers strange things of olden times as it sighs through the green-leaved trees. It is not until some labourer employed on the land passes that the spell is broken; for he carries a hoe or a spade—not a spear—and whistles a merry modern tune instead of making the welkin ring with the blast of the horn.

For years the common was allotted to the commoners who proved their right, but it was chiefly gorse land, open and unfenced, on which were grazed a number of wretched cattle who could not be said to gain a living from the scanty herbage. At the beginning of the present century there was a desire felt to enclose the land, and make it more productive. After much agitation, on June 8, 1821, "an Act for Dividing, Allotting, and Enclosing a certain Piece of Land called King's Heath, or Malmesbury Common, situate near the Borough of Malmesbury, in the County of Wilts," received the Royal assent, in the second year of the reign of George IV. The Act, which was obtained mainly through the instrumentality of the late Mr. Pitt, the father of the present Vicar of Malmesbury, provided for drainings, making roads, water courses, and footways; it also constituted the mode of administration of allotment, &c. Under this Act King's Heath has become a fertile spot, the land being admirably cultivated. When a railway has placed Malmesbury in connection with the railway system of this county, there ought to be a market found for the fine vegetables the rich soil of the Common produces. Probably the following lines (written by a deceased holder of land on the Common) will give an idea of King's Heath past and present:—

How long this land much furze did bear,
But now behold what corn grows there—
For to supply the labouring poor,
O may it yield a lasting store.

Friend HANKS, with others, were the cause
This barren land to be enclosed ;
Which now doth yield such ample store,
To serve the wants of Malmesbury poor.

Friend ROBINS, too, with HANKS did say,
“ Come, let us try to find a way
For to enclose this land so wide,
And to each man his lot divide.”

Friend PLAYER, too, I will bring in,
Who did with those above begin,
And did to his two brothers say—
“ I think we soon shall see the day.”

And Esquire PITT they spake unto,
Well knowing that he much could do,
Because he sat in Parliament,
The same in LAW he did present.

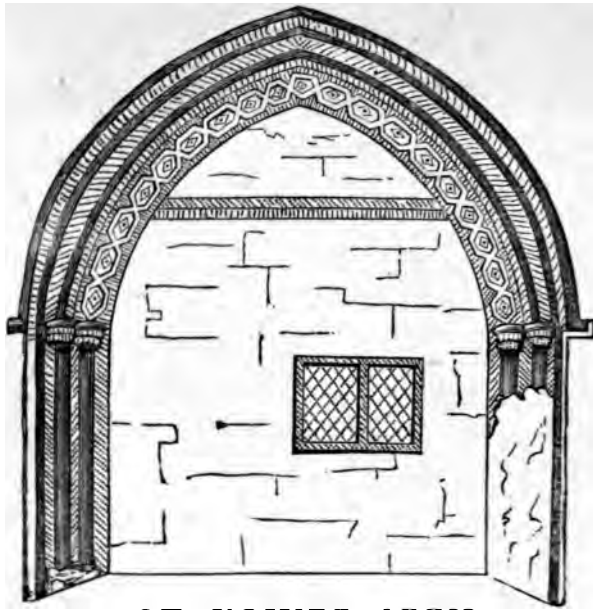
He did succeed, and got consent,
He paid the same—money lent.
We wish him well and long to live,
May GOD—when dead—his soul receive.

Had our forefathers known that we—
Their sons—would have a lotment free,
They would have been rejoiced and say,
“ I wish I'd lived to see the day.”

Had not this land been taken in,
What wretchedness we must have seen ;
How many would have wanted bread,
Through which they must to parish fled.

Where they'd have had the frowns of some,
Perhaps and sent quite empty home,
To weeping wife and children dear,
For want of bread their hearts to cheer.

But now they can enjoy their own,
For GOD hath bless'd what they have sown ;



ST. JOHN'S ARCH.



MARKET CROSS, AS IT STOOD IN 1800.

SECTION VII.

A DESCRIPTION OF SOME ANCIENT BUILDINGS, AND
OTHER REMAINS OF ANTIQUITY SITUATED IN AND NEAR
MALMESBURY.

THE town of Malmesbury contains besides the ruins of the Abbey Church several smaller and less important remnants of its former greatness.—Though most of these are at present too inconsiderable to attract the attention of the traveller, yet it would be improper to pass them by without some notice.

Of these we shall first give some account of the building still known by the name of the Abbot's House ; as from its proximity to the abbey it will, after that structure, be most likely to interest the curiosity of the antiquarian.

THE ABBOT'S HOUSE.

A little to the north-east of the abbey church is a building called the Abbot's House, now divided into separate tenements. The superstructure is said to have been erected by a descendant of Mr. Stumpe, the clothier, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The lower part of this edifice is of much higher antiquity, as is evident from the pointed windows, ribbed arches, &c., observable in the interior construction. From the stone gutters which project a considerable way up the windows, it is apparent that the present floor is five or six feet above the original one. On the wall in the outer court are some Saxon roses. There is a

gateway still remaining, leading to the Abbot's House, which is much more curious than anything in the building itself. This gateway is small, and is terminated above by a circular arch ; over which is placed something like a coat of arms, with figures resembling *fleurs de lis* carved in the stones on each side of it, by way of supporters. The manner in which this sculpture is executed seems to indicate that it was not the work of a very distant, or barbarous age.

In a work that appears to have been written in 1727, it is said that at the upper end of Long Newton, near the Old Manor House (about three miles from Malmesbury) is a fountain of free-stone, from whence water was brought in pipes to the abbey,* and that some of these pipes were found in the seventeenth century.

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH.

On the south side of the churchyard are remains of the parish church of St. Paul, part of which has been long used as a dwelling. The tower, with a lofty steeple, is entirely detached from the church, and still contains a peal of bells.

THE CHAPEL HOUSE.

The building called the Chapel House is situated in the western environ of Malmesbury, styled Burnivale.† It has been inhabited by paupers time immemorial. In Burnivale, according to tradition, there once was a nunnery;‡ and it

* Newton Church was formerly a chapel of ease to this monastery.

† Perhaps it was thus denominated from its vicinity to the river, and its situation in a valley. The Saxon word Burna signifies a river or fountain.—Bailey's Dict.

‡ "Some hold opinion that there was some time a nunnery where the Hermitage now standeth, in the dike of the town, at the west end of the old parish church."—Lel. Itin. No other author mentions this hermitage.

is probable that the poor-house just noticed was a part of the chapel of that convent. This opinion derives support from the designation of this structure,* and from the remains of two windows, which indicate the style of the building to have been similar to that of the oldest parts of the abbey church. But what gives additional probability to the idea is a curious relic of antiquity, which seems to have stood neglected for several ages, in a corner of one of the lower rooms. This curiosity is a small stone vase and pillar, placed in a niche, which appears to have been a *lavatory*, though it has been considered as a baptismal font, but it is evidently too small for that purpose.—The basin is about ten inches wide, and very shallow. It is supported by a column of an octangular form, with a capital and pedestal, which appear to have been adorned with curious sculpture, now almost obliterated.

THE WHITE LION INN.

Part of the walls of this inn are of a very extraordinary thickness (five feet), and are probably the remains of an *hospitium*, belonging to the monastery.† Near the entrance was some time ago a small stone vase, fixed in the wall, which seems to have been a receptacle for *holy water*. A pane of stained glass is preserved in the kitchen window, containing a representation of a lion *badly drawn*, having round it the words "*Lord Mercy*." This

Perhaps Leland means that near the spot where the Chapel House stands was a structure which bore the name of the Hermitage, as being on the site of Meyldulf's solitary cell, which is supposed to have been situated in this place.

* In a deed dated the 8th Charles I., 1632, this house is styled "Lady Chapel," therefore the appellation is not very modern.

† There is a tradition that some workmen who were concerned in building the abbey lodged at an inn which bore the same name, and stood on the same spot with the White Lion.

relic appears to be very ancient.* There was also in front of the Inn, over the principal gateway, a small figure carved in wood, designed to represent an abbot; as may be inferred from the mitre on the head. This was taken down when the building was repaired, as was also the stone vase.

THE ALMSHOUSE.

Near the bridge at the southern extremity of the town is situated the corporation alms-house, on the site of an establishment belonging to the Knights Hospitallers, which existed here in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. A pointed-arched gateway with ornamental mouldings—now walled up—is a fragment of this ancient hospital.

About half a mile to the north-east of the town is a farm house named *Whitchurch*, or *Whychurch*, on or near the site of which a building is said to have stood, which bore the appellation of White Church. It perhaps belonged to the Carthusian monks, who were also styled White Monks, from their white habits. It has been suggested, however, that the church derived its denomination from the circumstance of divine service having been celebrated in it on Whit Sunday.† The preceding structure has no relics of antiquity in or near it, but there is a small orchard contiguous to it which in an old deed bears the name of Chapel Close. This house is now inhabited by Mr. E. Spenser.

THE WORKHOUSE.

In the days of our last historian was situated in Holloway, was an ancient building, in which were found the remains of some pillars, which indicate its former consequence.

* See p. 121.

† See p. 93.

On one of the walls in the court-yard are two small pieces of sculpture, representing a calvary cross and an angel ; whence it has been inferred, that this house (as well as the White Lion), was formerly an *hospitium* to the abbey. It was here, according to tradition, that Henry VIII. and his retinue were entertained by Mr. Stumpe, the clothier, on their return from hunting in Braydon Forest. From the situation and appearance of the edifice, it is probable that this was the Banqueting House in which Charles I. was also entertained by the Corporation in the time of the civil wars. This edifice is now converted into private dwellings.

THE TOWN WALL.

Leland, in describing the state of the fortifications of this town, about the middle of the sixteenth century, says: "In the toune be 4 gates, by the names of Est, West, North, and South, runious al. The walles in many places stond full up, but are now very feble. Nature had dikid the toune strongly." Neither of these gates at present remain. The eastern gate, situated in Holloway, was the last which was standing, and that was taken down by order of the commissioners of the turnpike road in the year 1778. There was a gate named Postern Gate a little to the south-west of St. Paul's church, the remains of which were removed in 1794 by Mr. R. Robins, of Malmesbury. Postern gates or sallyports, in fortifications, were underground passages leading from the inner to the outer works, designed for the conveyance of soldiers or artillery. The gateway above noticed was probably erected after the subterraneous works had been destroyed and improperly called by the same name. Very near to the abbey stood an old arch or gateway, which was destroyed by an accident in August, 1799. It probably belonged to some of the offices of the monastery, though it has been supposed to have been connected

with the fortifications.

At the entrance of the town from Cirencester, the principal relics of the walls are still to be found. The great height, winding direction, and fine masonry which these ruins exhibit, cannot fail to arrest the attention of the traveller. It is impossible, accurately, to ascertain the period at which these walls were erected. There is, however, room for conjecture that they might have formed a part of the fortifications raised by the Bishop of Salisbury, in the reign of King Stephen.

At a small distance from the base of this wall, about six feet beneath the surface of the earth, a substance has been discovered, which has been supposed to be vitrified matter; and it has been imagined that the place was formerly encompassed with a vitrified bank of vallum.

There is a well, denominated the Castle Well, which is supposed to have belonged to the famous castle erected by Roger, Bishop of Sarum. It is situated on the summit of a field, commonly known by the name of Mundane's Close, and from thence the well has sometimes been called Mundane's Well. It is about three hundred feet N.N.W. of the abbey church. A master builder who has examined this well remarked that it was very large, of great depth, and the workmanship neatly executed. It has been covered over for many years on account of its having been made a receptacle for ordure, in consequence of which the water in the neighbouring wells becomes spoiled.

Near the west front of the abbey, not far from this well, is the gable end of an edifice, which is reported to have been a moiety of the castle.

THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY, WESTPORT.

This church, of which we have given an account before,

is comparatively a modern edifice. We shall here only notice the font, which appears to be very antique. It is of an octangular form, ornamented with sculpture, and supported by a mutilated column, and forms a chapel of ease to the vicarage of Charlton,* a village about two miles from Malmesbury.

The oldest inscription which has been discovered in it is dated in the year 1672. There was doubtless a church that stood on or near the same spot heretofore; for Hobbes informs us, in the account he has given us of his life, that his father was the minister of Westport church in the year 1558, and we learn from Willis† that J. Wymbole was the officiating priest in 1553.

A little to the west of this church is an ancient pointed arch, forming a doorway and part of a window, which seems to have been the relics of a chapel and which is now a common lodging-house.

In the parish of Westport also is situated the place of public worship belonging to the presbyterians. It was rebuilt in the year 1788. This dissenting interest has been of long standing, as may be inferred from the deed that respects the first place of worship, and also from the following anecdote, communicated by an aged member of the congregation. It appears that in troublesome times the minister and people assembled for divine worship in what is now called the old parsonage house: one of the town, from whom the minister then suffered persecution, was

* Wiltshire.—Living remaining in charge.

WESTPORT.

King's Books. { Vicarage with Charlton, and the } Yearly Tenths.
 £16 17s. 8d. { Chapel of Brokenborough. } £1 13s. 9½d.
 Bateman's Royal & Ecclesiastical Gaz. or Clergyman's Pocket Kalendar, p. 124.

† Hist. of Parliamentary Mitred Abbies, vol. ii.

afterwards so circumstanced as to need his protection; on which occasion this minister exemplified that most amiable Christian virtue, which consists in rendering good for evil. Matt. v. 44, 45.

As it appears the Rev. S. Gawen, vicar of the parish of St. Paul, Malmesbury, was ejected from thence by the act of uniformity, it is probable that by him this society was established.

Mr. Gawen was Vicar of Malmesbury in 1629, as appears by the Register. "Simon Gawen, sometime vicar of this parish, but put out and expelled because a Nonconformist was buried, 22nd January, 1671."—Parish Register.

The chapel belonging to the Anabaptists is situated in the Parish of St. Mary, Malmesbury, commonly called the abbey parish. It was rebuilt in 1802. It appears that this religious society has subsisted in Malmesbury ever since the year 1720.

In that part of the town called Holloway is the place of worship belonging to the Moravians, erected about eighty years since.

The followers of George Whitfield have a chapel in Silver Street. This society of methodists owes its origin to the Rev. Mr. Davis, a clergyman of the established church, who died at Malmesbury.

THE MARKET CROSS.

This structure is of an octangular form, and is much enriched with sculpture. On the turret in the centre (supported by eight octangular flying buttresses) are a crucifix in basso-relievo; and other statutes. This cross having been much dilapidated, was about fifty years ago repaired at the joint expense of the late Earl of Suffolk and Lady Northwick. The variety and excellence of the carving with

which this building is embellished have often been deservedly admired. We have given a plate of this structure, because it is esteemed the chief ornament of the town, the abbey excepted.* The cross is now rapidly going to decay.

Crosses were formerly erected in market-places, with a view to excite devotion. The original intention of erecting crosses, whether in church-yards or in public roads, was to remind passengers of the meritorious cross and passion of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the duty incumbent on them to pray for the souls of their departed brethren. Formerly there was scarcely a village or hamlet but what had one or more of these pious momentos. Some of them were inscribed with the names of the erectors, and with admonitions to the devout pilgrim. Sermons were frequently delivered from them. The cross is thus described by Leland:—"There is a right fair and costly piece of worke in the market-place, made al of stone, and curiously vouldid for poore market folkes to stande dry when rayne cummith. There be 8 great pillars and 8 open arches, and the work is 8 square: one great pillar in the middle berith up the voulte." He says that "the men of the towne made this peace of work *in hominum memoria*," or towards the fifteenth century.

Of *Roman antiquities* in the neighbourhood of Malmesbury we have but little to communicate. Those of Easton Grey are of most importance; we shall, therefore, notice them first.—The Roman station of *Mutuantonis* is supposed to have been near Easton Grey; of which Sir R. C. Hoare gives the following account: "The turnpike road between

* Let us hope that this unique and beautiful feature of old architecture may be repaired and preserved, by being walled round, instead of its being used as it is at present by a number of persons who make it their regular resort, and who are not over careful about damaging it.

appear to have been part of the site of a Roman camp. The largest of these enclosures is perfectly square; each side measuring about one hundred and twenty feet. Adjoining to it is the smaller one, which is of an oblong figure, being about one hundred and twenty feet in length, and ninety or one hundred in breadth. Whether these enclosures really were the site of a camp may admit of some doubt. There are, however, several circumstances that render the conjecture probable. The name Cam's Hill appears to have belonged to the field time immemorial, and there can be little doubt but it is a corruption of the term Camp Hill. This field is, moreover, the highest ground in the neighbourhood of Malmesbury, and consequently resembles the situations in which the Roman conquerors of Britain usually encamped. We may add that at the bottom of the hill runs one of the parent streams of the Avon, and there are still to be perceived the remains of a road, or embankment passing along the side of the field down to the water.*

Adjoining to Cam's Hill is a field called *Castle Ground*, in which is a circular enclosure, where, perhaps, in former times stood a castle. Neither history nor tradition afford us any information relative to the age or people to which this castle belonged. Its situation, however, renders it not improbable that it was a frontier castle of the kingdom of Wessex during the existence of the Saxon octarchy; and what adds to the likelihood of the supposition is that very large stones have been dug up within the limits of this circle.

This place is also called *Burnt Ground*, particularly in a grant from Charles I. to R. Bennett, Esq., dated 1628. Tradition reports that a battle was fought here between King Stephen and the Empress Maud, when probably this

* See also pages 18 and 21.

castle was destroyed by fire, and the spot from that circumstance acquired the appellation of Burnt Ground, or Burnt Heath.

SECTION VIII.

OF THE SITUATION OF THE TOWN—ITS PRESENT STATE—
PUBLIC BUILDINGS — TRADE AND MANUFACTURES —
CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS AND DONATIONS.

THAT the town of Malmesbury was at one time of great importance may be gathered from the fact that it was denominated a city in the title to King Athelstan's charter, preserved in the British Museum. In the reign of Edred, brother of Athelstan, it appears that there was at this place a mint, for in Southorp's abridgement of "The Philosophical Transactions" is an account of a coin of that king, bearing his image on one side and on the other the words "Malmesbury Money."* Several small brass or copper coins struck by clothiers and other tradesmen of Malmesbury have come under our notice. They are commonly without date, and most of them were coined before the first legal copper coins were introduced into England, in 1609. The existence of these tokens shows that the trade of this town was considerable at an early period. The writer has before him a small copper coin about the size of a modern fourpenny piece, bearing date 1591; the inscription on one side is W. W. Mamsbvry, and on the other side Willi. Wayte.

The town of Malmesbury is situated on an eminence,

* Abridge. of Phil. Trans., vol. p. iii., 440.

which peninsulated by two streams that unite to form the lower Avon.* One of them comes from Newton, through Brokenborough, to the north-west corner of the town, and running in a north-east direction, near the bridge at the south-east end of the town, meets with the grand head of the Avon, which comes from the village of Luckington, about seven miles off, and running along the southern side of the town, by its confluence with the other stream, makes the peninsula. The Avon also receives here a third branch, which comes from Oaksey through Hankerton, Charlton, and Garsdon. After this confluence, it runs S. W. to Chippenham, receiving several small streams during its course. Then meeting with a branch from Corsham, it goes to Lacock and Melksham, and receiving some small streams passes on to Staverton, and S. W. of that place, meets with the Were. After this it runs to Bradford, and from thence to Freshford, a little to the east of which it is joined by the Frome. The Avon then passes on to Bathwick and Bath, receiving in its course some considerable streams. Then it goes to Keynsham, where it receives the Chute. After this confluence it runs to Briselton, and then to Bristol, beneath which it receives a small stream on each side, and passes on by Clifton and Crocamphill into the Bristol Channel.

Being situated on the road from London to Bath and Bristol, the town was formerly a considerable thoroughfare; but a new road having been made some years past, Malmesbury is less frequented than formerly. It lies ninety-five miles west of London, and about twenty-one N. E. of Bath.

* Avon is a name common to several rivers in different parts of England; there is one which rises about the middle of this county, called the Upper Avon, this is sometimes confounded with the river described above. The Lower Avon according to Camden, served as a boundary to divide the kingdom of Wessex, from that of Mercia.

The turnpike roads in the neighbourhood, are in general exceedingly good ; but this may be regarded as a modern improvement, since many of the inhabitants of the town recollect the construction of the present roads, and the comparatively impassable state of the public ways, leading to the neighbouring towns at some seasons.

About the middle of the last century, many turnpike acts were passed, and from that period the general amendment of the public roads in the west of England may be dated.

The northern division of the county in which this town is situated, (formerly overrun with forests, and at present sprinkled with woods) is hilly but fertile.

The scenery around Malmesbury,

—————Where the winding vale its lavish stores,
Irriguous, spreads,—————.*

is not uninteresting. And though here are none of the extensive hills, the bold precipices, and the dark forests which vary the prospect in the neighbouring county of Gloucester, yet the views may be deemed by some not less pleasing, though certainly less picturesque.

Those, however, who can relish the scenery presented by a highly cultivated country, composed of gently rising grounds, and shallow vales, checquered with blooming orchards and grazing herds, may, during the genial season of spring, receive a considerable portion of gratification from those views which the Maldunian landscapes afford.

Though this town is at present surpassed by many in neatness and elegance of appearance, yet there is reason to believe that a few centuries ago its magnificent abbey, its

* Thompsons' Seasons, Spring, v. 491.

castle, and its fortifications, combined with the other buildings, to render it equal if not superior to any town in the county. The arrangement of the principal streets is regular and convenient. The High-street commencing at the market cross immediately opposite the south front of the abbey, passes some way in a straight line, then bending to-towards the east, crosses a bridge over the Avon, mentioned by Leland in his Itinerary,* and terminates at the grand and extensive building raised by Francis Hill, Esq. ; for the purpose of carrying on the clothing manufacture. At the top of this last runs a street called Oxford-street ; its direction is from west to east. The isolated steeple of the parish church of St. Paul, is situated at its western termination ; from thence it passes along the top of High-street, to Holloway. The situation of these two streets is such as to form a figure resembling that of the letter T. Parallel with the High-street, and a little to the east of it, is a street called Silver-street, which passing from south towards the north, through a square called Cross Hays, meets the end of Oxford-street and a little farther on terminates in the road leading to Cricklade, Oxford, &c. The only remaining street of importance is one called the Abbey-row, which commencing not far from the west end of the abbey, leads through Westport, dividing at length into two branches ; one of which terminates in the road to Tetbury and Gloucester and the other by the Cross-Hands to Bristol.

Many streets existed here formerly, of which no traces are now to be perceived ; though the names of several of them are preserved in old charters, title deeds, and other ancient records. The most important objects of attention in this town are the remains of antiquity : as these have

been already described, the more modern public buildings next come under our notice.

These are of three classes—buildings devoted to the purposes of public worship,* manufacturies, and charitable foundations.

The first class comprehends the church of St. Mary, in the parish of Westport, and two dissenting chapels, also a chapel in the Cross Hays.

A Church of Congregational Nonconformists has existed in Malmesbury from the time of the Ejectment in 1662, (as mentioned in page 192), when one of the worshipers became the founder of a Free Church at Westport; near the spot occupied by the present chapel. The structure of the chapel in 1629 was very peculiar. Underneath the floor there was a range of cellars, and above the ceiling a "third loft," to which the Sunday scholars and teachers ascended by two flights of narrow and winding stairs. The Free Church must at one time have contained persons of property and position, as there are sundry small endowments amounting to £50 per annum; but owing to adverse circumstances the congregation had so declined that in the year 1859, the County Union was requested to adopt it as a Home Mission Station.

It was the first Station in Wiltshire on which was tried the Co-operative plan between the Home Missionary Society and the County Association. The Rev. J. Black was selected as the Mission Pastor, and continues so still. Better accomodation for both the Members and Congregation was considered necessary, and in 1867 one of the prettiest chapels in the West of England was opened. It

* See pages 190, 191, & 192.

extremity of the town, where the road leading to Chippenham begins, and they are supposed to be on or near the same spot with that just mentioned. This attempt was attended with great success. To Mr. Hill succeeded Mr. Salter, of Chippenham. Some time afterwards Mr. Lewis, a Silk Manufacturer of Derby, bought the premises, and converted them into Silk Throwing and Ribbon Weaving Mills. He carried on the business till 1869, when Messrs. Davenport and Son, Silk Manufacturers, also of Derby, purchased them, and erected at great cost, modern machinery for carrying on an extensive Ribbon trade, thus giving employment to about 400 hands.

There is a Town Hall ; also a Market place. The markets are held on the last Tuesday in every month for cattle ; there is also a small market for provisions on Saturday.

There are three breweries, a water company, and a gas company.

The only other trades and manufacturies of importance carried on at Malmesbury that remain to be noticed, are, brewing, tanning, and lace-making, (which used to be the principal employment of the lower ranks of females, but is now almost superseded by the introduction of the silk trade).

The third and last class of public buildings to be noticed comprehends those designed for the reception of objects of charity. There are few buildings of this description at Malmesbury that are particularly remarkable ; all those that were formerly attached to the monastery having been destroyed long since, or applied to other purposes. The only charitable foundations to be mentioned are two almshouses ; one of them endowed by the corporation, and subsequently by Michael Weekes, Esq. This is situated

adjoining to the arched gateway, already mentioned. The other almshouse was founded and endowed by Robert Jenner, citizen and goldsmith of London, but the endowment was lost more than a century ago. This building is situated in Holloway. Neither of these almshouses have anything in their appearance which distinguishes them from the habitations of paupers, with which they are surrounded.

A splendid building situate in Back Hill was erected in 1870 by W. Powell, Esq., M.P., and presented to the Corporation, to be used as free Reading Rooms. The first room is set apart for the use of the upper classes, and tradesmen, who choose to avail themselves of the privilege, and the inner room is provided for the lower classes. There is a large and capital Library, and a good supply of London and Provincial Newspapers, and Periodicals; all supplied gratis by the munificent doner of the building. The rooms are decorated with a fine collection of Buck and other horns, skins, &c. Various games, such as Drafts, Dominoes, &c., are allowed to be played, the necessities being also supplied by Mr. Powell.

Mr. Powell also erected in 1873 a large building composed of wood, which was presented gratis to the Trustees of the Ragged School, for the free use of young children. The scholars number about 180, and an excellent female teacher from London is regularly engaged in instructing them. This school is supported by voluntary contributions.

There are also two other Public Schools, one situate in Cross Hayes, called the "Infant School." This is a well built and commodious building, and is supported by the Rev. C. Kemble, Rector of Bath. The other is the National School, situate in Westport, and is used for the instruction of boys only.

Among the various methods which have been practised with a view to ameliorate the condition of the lower ranks of people, there is none perhaps more praiseworthy and effectual than the well-known institution of *Sunday Schools*. These seminaries have been the means of rescuing many individuals from a state of ignorance and barbarism, and making them valuable members of society.

Malmesbury can boast of ten such Schools, one of which is connected with each of the following places of Worship: Independent Chapel, Back Hill; Moravian Chapel, Oxford Street; Friendly Sabbath School, Market Cross; Baptist Chapel, Abbey Row; Congregational Chapel, Westport; Primitive Methodist Chapel, Westport; Ragged School, Burnivale; Roman Catholic Chapel, Cross Hayes; Westport Church; and two belonging to the Abbey Church.

CHARITIES BELONGING TO THE TOWN AND BOROUGH OF MALMESBURY.

There are several charitable donations which are connected with the buildings noticed above. The principal of these are the profits of an estate in the parish of Westbury left by Mr. Arch; £10 per annum by Mr. Grayle, for apprenticing poor children; the interest of £100 in three per cent consolidated bank annuities, by Mrs. Arnold; £400 by Mr. Arnold to purchase bank stock, the interest arising from which to be laid out in bread for the poor, and £2 per annum to be distributed in sixpence by Mr. Cullerne. The catalogue of public charities is not by any means equal to those which some towns can boast of. But this is not perhaps on the whole a circumstance to be regretted; for revenues appropriated to public purposes are sometimes misapplied, and it not uncommonly happens that in consequence of their being be-

Somerford Magna, and Somerford Parva, Wilts; £10 of the rent for the support of the Burgesses' School; £10 for the support of the Burgesses' Almshouse; £1 to the Vicar of Malmesbury for an annual Sermon; £1 for an annual Dinner for the Trustees; and the surplus for charitable purposes, at the option of the Trustees.

By Will of Mrs. Elizabeth Hodges of Shipton Moyne, Gloucestershire, May 13th, 1723,—£30 per annum, issuing out of Estates in the Parishes of Leonard Stanley, Cam, Stinchcomb, and Berkeley, Gloucestershire; £30 per annum for the augmentation of the Charity Schools in Malmesbury. By a Decree of the Court of Chancery, dated May 30th, 1730, it was ordered that when the five Trustees mentioned in Mrs. Hodges' Will, should be reduced to three, the Survivors shall appoint new Trustees: that a new School should be established, wherein fifteen boys, children of the poor Inhabitants of Malmesbury, should be taught; that no boy should be admitted under the age of 5 years, and continue there beyond the age of 14 years; and £10 per annum for the benefit of poor House-keepers in Malmesbury, not receiving alms.

By Will of Mr. Richard Bromwick, 1740,—A Moiety of a Bequest of £4 per annum, charged on the impropriate Tythes and Glebe of the Parish of St. Paul, Malmesbury. This Donation (designed for the benefit of the poor of Westport and Malmesbury) having been set aside by the operation of the Statute of Mortmain, Mr. John Melhuish, Nephew of the Donor, in 1803, left in lieu of it £150. to be laid out in the purchase of Woollen and Linen Cloth. Of these articles, one-fourth part was to be distributed to the poor of Malmesbury; one-fourth to the poor of Westport; and the remainder to the poor of Tytherington, Gloucestershire.

By Will of Joseph Cullurne, Esq., Nov. 28th, 1764,—£20 per annum, issuing out of an Estate at Cleverton, Wilts; £10 per annum to the poor of Malmesbury; £5 to the poor of Westport; £1 to the poor of Burton Hill; to be distributed on the first day of January in every year, in sums not exceeding five shillings to each family; £1 for a Sermon, to be preached annually on the 12th of March in the Abbey Church; £1 for a Dinner for the Trustees, on the same day; 10s. to the Distributor of this Benefaction; and £1 10s. per annum to Sarah Hughes; after her death to be proportionably divided between the poor of the above-mentioned three places.

By Deed of Trust of Mrs. Ann Rowles, of Malmesbury, Nov. 29th, 1774,—£100 in Stock, in the 3 per cent Consolidated Bank Annuities. Two-thirds of the Interest or Dividend to be paid yearly to the Churchwardens of the Parish of Malmesbury; and by them distributed on Good Friday, to the poor of the Parish, in such proportions as they may think fit; the remaining one-third to be paid to the Churchwardens of Westport, and distributed by them in the same manner to the poor of that Parish.

By Will of Mr. William Arnold, of Bristol, May 27th, 1778,—£400 to purchase Stock in the Government Funds. Accordingly in 1785, £576 12s. 10d. capital stock of reduced 3 per cent Annuities was purchased, with the sum of £395; which together with £5 the Stamp Duty on the Acquittance, constituted the amount of the Bequest. The Interest or Dividend to be expended in the purchase of Bread, to be distributed to the poor of Malmesbury, at the discretion of the Trustees.

Malmesbury was famous in ancient times for its annual fair, when a great number of strangers assembled. The

fair and the method adopted to prevent disorders, amidst such a concourse of people, are thus noticed by Leland. "The toune hath a great privileg of a fair, about the fest of St. Aldelm, at which time the toune kepith a band of harnesed men to see peace kept: and this is one of the bragges of the toune, and thereby they be furnished with harnes."* The fair was kept (tradition says) in a meadow which lies a little to the south-west of the town, and to the present time bears the name of St. Aldhelm's Mead. It is now the property of the 'Earl of Suffolk. This fair has been long discontinued.

The amount of the parish rates for the relief of paupers in this town at different periods confirms the conclusions that have been drawn from an examination into the state of this burthensome impost in other situations. The following memorandums will show that the increase of the poor's-rate, during the space of one hundred and forty years, bears no relative proportion to the alteration in the value of landed property, or to the difference in the price of provisions. All the rates collected for the support of the poor in the town parish in the year 1664 did not exceed the sum of eighteen pounds, seven shillings, and twopence. The paupers who then received parochial assistance were only eight in number. In the year 1801 the amount of the rates was nearly four hundred pounds; and in the year ending 25th March 1875, the rates had risen to the sum of one thousand two hundred and eleven pounds, and the number of paupers to two hundred and sixteen.

The general inference to be drawn from these statements is certainly not in favour of the present system of poor laws. Indeed, when we consider that the Act of Parliament

* Itin., vol. 2.

which provides for the relief of paupers was made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and that it introduced new regulations into the police of this country, we may conclude that the imperfections now discovered in the system arise in a great measure from the alterations that have taken place in the state of society during the long period that has elapsed since it was enacted.

The town of Malmesbury probably contained a much greater number of inhabitants anciently than it does at present; but it appears from an examination of the parish register that the state of the population during the last century has not fluctuated very materially. From the number of people far advanced in years whose names are to be found in the registers, it may be inferred that the situation of this town is congenial to animal life.

Malmesbury may be considered as being in a state of progressive improvement. Its buildings are certainly mended within these few years. As an additional argument for the truth of this opinion, we may observe that in 1798 an Act of Parliament was obtained, entitled "An Act for Paving the Footways, and for Cleansing, Lighting, and Regulating the Streets, and other public passages and places within the Borough of Malmesbury, in the County of Wilts; and the Avenues leading into the same; and for Removing and Preventing Nuisances, Annoyances, and Obstructions therein." This Act is now carried into execution, and also the Urban Sanitary Act.

Malmesbury is the centre of a poor-law union, comprising the following places:—Abbey (Malmesbury), Alderton, Bremilham, Brinkworth, Brokenborough, Burton Hill, Charlton, Cloatly, Cole Park, Corston, Crudwell, Dauntsey, Easton Grey, Foxley, Garsdon, Hankerton, Hullavington,

Lea, Luckington, Milbourn, Minty (or Minety), Norton Coleparle, Oaksey, Rodbourn, St. Paul (Malmesbury), Sherston Magna, Sherston Parva, (or Sherston Pinkney), Great Somerford, Little Somerford, Sopworth, Surrendel, West Park, and Westport St. Mary. The Union Workhouse is situated on the road to Sherston, in the parish of Brokenborough.

A County Court is held in the Town Hall. The district comprises the following places: Alderton, Ashley, Beverstone, Boxwell, Bremilham, Brinkworth, Brokenborough, Charlton, Chelworth, Cherrington, Cleverton, Cloatly, Corston, Crudwell, Dauntsey, Didmarton, Eastcourt, Easton Grey, Foxley, Garsdon, Grittenham, Hankerton, Hullavington, Lasborough, Lea, Leighterton, Long Newnton, Luckington, Malmesbury, Minety, Norton, Oaksey, Oldbury-on-the-Hill, Rodbourn, Sherston Magna, Sherston Parva, Shipton Moyne, Somerford Magna, Somerford Parva, Sopworth, Surrendel, Tetbury, Weston Birt.

Lord Northwick is lord of the manor of Malmesbury and Westport. The principal landowners are the Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire, the Earl of Radnor, Sir R. H. Pollen, bart., Mrs. Lovell, and Daniel Beak, esq.

The soil is various. The chief crops are wheat, barley, oats beans &c.

The area of Malmesbury is 5,232; and Westport 2,036 acres; gross estimated rental of Malmesbury St. Paul, £13,785; of Malmesbury Abbey, £545; of Westport St. Mary, £5,223; and their respective rateable values, £12,064, £446, and £4,511. The population of the town in 1871 was 3,123; the population of Malmesbury St. Paul was 2,250; Malmesbury Abbey parish, 156; Westport St. Mary parish, 1,774; the entire population of the parliamentary borough, 6,879

SECTION IX.

REFORM DINNER—SPEECHES ON THE OCCASION—
BOROUGH ELECTION IN 1831—HOW THE PASSING OF
THE REFORM BILL WAS CELEBRATED.

THE system of representation was very ancient in the Nations of Europe; among others, our ancestors, the Britons, had their great Council of the Nation, and the Saxons their Wittenagemote, afterwards called Parliament, both of which were composed of representatives of *all* the people. When the Normans unfortunately conquered the country, the English lost their ancient privileges, but William the Conqueror found it necessary to call a Parliament, by summoning *ten* Representatives from every county; and King Henry III. summoned another, composed of *four* from each county. But it was not till the time of Edward I., who was a more patriotic and humane man, that a more extensive Parliament was assembled, and it was in his reign that Malmesbury first sent Representatives. From that time, for about 350 years, there can be no doubt that *all* the inhabitants had votes; for until the Charter was granted by Charles I., there is no reason to suppose that any other method was followed.

It is a fundamental principle of the British Constitution, that those who are required to *contribute money* for the support of its Institutions, shall have a *vote* in the appointment of those who are entrusted with its management; that

Boroughmongers and the Ministry, and without assenting to them it was impossible for any Ministry to carry on the business of the country. Such then as these, Gentlemen, are the Boroughmongers. And, consistent to the last, we see them maintaining a firm grasp on their ill-gotten, illegal, and ill-used power. Not a tittle of it will they concede to the just claims of the people, or to the exhortations of their Sovereign! On the contrary, with vain hypocrisy and unblushing effrontery, they continue to the last to declare their tools to be the virtual representatives of the Commons of England—the cancerous disease with which they have infected the Constitution they declare to be the Constitution itself—the power they have usurped of robbing us they assert to be a sacred and unalienable right of property, and the bribery, corruption, and impious perjury in which they live and breathe and have their being, they assert to be the sole bulwark (of what think you!) of morals and religion! But the common sense of the people is no longer to be humbugged by such base cant and naked hypocrisy as this, (*Loud cheers.*) Gentlemen, I have taken the liberty of preaching the funeral sermon of the Boroughmongers, on the eve of their extinction. Disgraceful and abominable as has been their conduct, shameful as it is at the very moment I am speaking, and as it will be, I have no doubt, till the final sentence of extermination is passed upon them, I yet wish them no other punishment than that they may awake at length to a sense of the profligacy and impiety of their conduct, and to the conviction of the well-merited contempt and abhorrence in which they are, and ever will be held by the honest and virtuous portion of mankind. A severer punishment perhaps I could not wish them. With which I conclude my funeral oration on them with a "*Requiescat in pace.*" Gentlemen, I beg leave to toast

"*The Downfall of Boroughmongery, and the Triumph of Reform.*" The Speaker was repeatedly cheered in the course of his speech. The toast was drunk with acclamations.

The Chairman then proposed "*The Members of Gloucestershire, and the Reformers who distinguished themselves by electing them. Three times three.*"

Nathaniel Partridge, Esq., rose and said—"Gentlemen, I am extremely happy to have the pleasure of meeting you here to-day. A short time since I visited Malmesbury for the purpose of witnessing the mode of electing the Members for your Borough, when I had the honour of nominating Mr. Scrope as a candidate, not expecting that he would be enabled to force this stronghold of corruption, but hoping that some informality might take place in the proceedings by which the election might be vitiated, or at all events to expose to just derision a farce so contemptable, but I little imagined that the Capital Burgesses would expose themselves to so much derision. The disgusting scene which took place at this mock election convinced me more than ever that Boroughmongering is not only politically disgraceful, but morally infamous. (*Applause.*) Really, the downright ignorance and stupidity of these Burgesses exceeded any thing I could have imagined! I am quite confident that a charter so much abused cannot be desirable to any honest man; and that there is not an inhabitant who does not hail the day when such a wicked system will have an end, when these Boroughmongers, these, what shall I call them? these spiders of the State, with all their dirty webs, shall be swept away. (*Immense applause.*)

"Gentlemen, permit me to remind you that you will soon be called on to exercise very important, but I hope very

pleasing duties, for you will now have only to be loyal to the best of Kings, to support the most honest of Ministers, to be faithful to your own best interests, and to return to Parliament, intelligent, independent, and honest men, and we shall be yet a free, flourishing, and happy people. Allow me to thank you for the compliment you have paid to the Stroud people and to the electors of Gloucestershire generally."

Mr. John Lewis in responding to the toast of the Press, said,—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, incalculable are the benefits which are derived from the liberty of the Press. I would ask, What but the Press has kept alive the spirit of Reform, and enabled us with the greatest anxiety to watch its progress? By means of it, we have the best opportunities afforded us of judging of the ability and willingness of our Representatives faithfully and honestly to execute the trust reposed in them. But, above all, through the Press we are made acquainted with the fact, unprecedented in the history of this country, that we are blessed with a Patriot King, a Patriot Government, and a Patriot People.

"I must still beg to be permitted to say a few words in reference to the particular object of our meeting together, which is, *To celebrate the success of the cause of Parliamentary Reform*. And I would briefly notice, first, one of the many evils which it will have a tendency to correct, and then one of the numerous benefits which it will positively confer.

"It is an established maxim, that 'Charity should begin at home;' and I would say, that *Reform must* begin at home. This Borough, the rottenest of all other rotten borough, must, by the application of *Russell's Purge*, be cleansed of the impurity with which it has been so long

deluded—where vice with unblushing front has reigned triumphant, and presented stronger temptations to the weak mind because '*it was clothed in purple and fine linen and fared sumptuously.*' But if my information be correct, the order for retrenchment is already issued, and to-morrow will afford a practical illustration thereof; when the pageantry of the usual procession will be greatly abridged, profusion superseded by a scanty repast, the cheering sounds of music will no more be heard, nor the winning airs and fantastic forms of the softer sex gladden the hearts of their partners in the mazes of the dance—the knell of their departed excesses falls heavily on our ears, and revelry will be entombed. I shall now consider the benefit which the proposed measure of Reform will confer upon *us*. At present the right of sending Members to Parliament is vested in twelve,—what? shall I call them bondsmen? who for the yearly payment of thirty pieces have bartered away the dearest privilege of which Englishmen can boast. But this accursed system of Boroughmongering has received its death-blow at the hands of Reform, and these deluded beings will no more be tempted to grasp the wages of iniquity, but, in the agony of disappointment must retire, many of them into their former obscurity and insignificance, and close an inglorious career discarded and unpitied. But the reformed Representative will secure the right of voting to 300 free-men-kindred spirits with yourselves. I ask, then, is not this a benefit?

Gentlemen, I would particularly congratulate you, the inhabitants of a town deeply sunk in the mire of corruption, and also those distinguished characters and other friends who have honoured us with their presence on this day's public avowal of your sentiments on the extension of the sound principles of British liberty, which, like the air we

breathe, if we have it, we live ; if we have it not, we perish.
(*Prolonged cheering.*)

The Ladies of Malmesbury was then proposed from the Chair, and pledged with suitable honours.

The next toast was "*The Reformers of Chippenham.*"

Mr. Bailey returned thanks.

"*Lord Andover ; and may he prove a chip of the old block ;*" received with thunders of applause.

Mr. Gordon on wishing the company good night expressed a hope that the next time they met it would be to celebrate the return of Mr. Scrope.

The proceedings of the day afforded the highest satisfaction to the large and respectable company assembled on this interesting occasion.

BOROUGH ELECTION IN 1832.

From the Bath and Cheltenham Gazette.

Malmesbury, May 20th.—Never has there been a more animating scene witnessed in this Borough than that of to-day, in the election of two Members to serve in Parliament. For some days past, anticipation has been on tiptoe, on its being announced that it was intended to oppose the long prevailing system ; and this morning large bills were posted stating that "a Candidate will be in the field to oppose the enemies of Reform, and to lead the electors to victory." In consequence of this announcement, every one was on the *qui vive*, and as the hour appointed for the business of the day commenced, the most intense anxiety became apparent. Mr. Pitt proposed the late Members, Sir CHAS. FORBES*,

* It was reported in the *Morning Chronicle* of May 17th, "That Sir Charles Forbes declared that he would not pay as much for the Borough of Malmesbury as on the last occasion ; (which was reported to have been, twelve thousand guineas,) for he conceived that the duration of Parliament will be too short to remunerate him for his outlay.

and his son JOHN FORBESE, esq., to the consideration of the thirteen independent Electors, several of whom experienced considerable difficulty in pronouncing the *un-English* word Forbese, otherwise than Fobs, Hobs, Foards, Foorbese, Sir John Foards, &c. Ultimately, however the affair was accomplished. Mr. SCROPE, of Castle Combe, was also proposed; and his energetic and close appeal to the Electors, in which he gave a complete expose of Borough trafficking, enlivened by the introduction of some ludicrous anecdotes connected therewith, produced an electrifying effect on a most crowded assemblage of persons, and elicited an universal expression of applause. The hootings, gibes, and taunts which was bestowed on the Corporation were almost past endurance. It is needless to add, that Sir C. Forbese, and his son, although absent were re-elected.

It is a fact that whether owing to the indignity offered to the inhabitants by the non-appearance of Sir Charles and his son who had just been returned as Members, or to the imputation cast upon the *veracity* of a dozen of their *independent and respectable townsmen*, the effiges of Sir Charles and his son, one bearing a label with the inscription "*Oh what shall I do!*"—the other, with, "*Oh I do deserve it!*" were on the evening of the election paraded and flogged through the streets, accompanied by an immense multitude of spectators; and, amidst the din of as discordant sounds as ever proceeded from the human voice, these two *worthy personages* were then consigned to the flames, probably under the impression, that their ashes would be productive of as much public benefit, as the parliamentary services of their *prototypes* ever had been.

A most contemptable trick was played off in the *notoriously corrupt* Borough of Malmesbury, just previous to the re-

vision of the list of voters in 1832, when notices of "objections" were delivered to the proper officer against not less than *thirty* voters of Malmesbury, who were on the Old Constituency for the Borough of Cricklade, the greater part of whom were known to be persons of the highest character and respectability. In order to elucidate this business still further, we will state the facts as they appeared before the Revising Barristers.

Messrs. MISSING, SAUNDERS, and ROWE, the Barristers for revising the list of voters for the Hundred of Malmesbury, held their sitting at Brinkworth, on Tuesday, the 20th November, 1832.

For some time past, the Antis, under the directions of a concealed leader, had been using their utmost endeavours to return one of the *Clique* for the Borough of Cricklade, in the place of Mr. CALLEY, who, by a *ruse de guerre*, completely outgeneralled the Boroughmongers, by whom he was supported in his contest against Mr. BOUVERIE, under the fond delusion of his advocating Tory principles; but, to their extreme dismay and mortification, Mr. C. proved himself throughout a staunch Reformer. In addition to the notices served on the thirty persons (above mentioned), notices of objection had also been served on no less than forty voters in different parishes in the hundred of Malmesbury, besides their making claims in behalf of fifty persons of their own party. To say nothing of the intense excitement which was thus produced, a general feeling of disgust pervaded the minds of all classes by the adoption of this most unprincipled line of conduct. The Reformers, therefore, were determined on resorting to a system of retaliation, with a view to counteract the efforts of an otherwise formidable opposition. Previous to the day of reversion, it was ascertained that a person of Wootton Bassett had been

employed as their tool to sign the whole of the thirty notices for Malmesbury in blank formes, and that with a single exception, not one of the parties was ever known to him: this he candidly admitted, and expressed his regret at having been made the dupe of such an artifice, which was represented to him as being only an electioneering squib: and in order to avoid the unpleasant consequences of such a vexatious proceeding, he very prudently refrained from attending to support his objections; and not having deputed any person to prove the service of the notices, this was in itself sufficient to invalidate the objections. But the Reformers waiving this act of neglect, so strong in their favour, and relying on the merits of the individual cases, allowed the examination of the seventy votes to be gone into, when nearly all of them were held to be valid.

But it was reserved to the Capital Burgesses, and other Members of the Corporation, to submit to a defeat of the most humiliating nature. Hitherto no instance had occurred of their votes having been disallowed, but now it was resolved by a grand push to prove the trial of their strength. The objections to their voting were founded on a note in Mr. Rogers's book, on the Reform Bill, where it was stated that individuals are incapacitated from voting in right of property which they enjoy as a Corporation aggregate. Acting on this principle, which is similar with that of the Bath Freemen, whose votes were rejected, the whole of the claimants of the Corporation lands were expunged from the list, and declared to be "*not entitled to vote.*" This unexpected blow to their usurped rights, which they had exercised for a great length of time, gave a new character to the representation of the Borough of Cricklade, and preponderated vastly in favour of the measure of Reform. The superstructure of the Pitt school thus fell rapidly into decay,

and the political tenets of the "heaven-born Minister" happily soon exploded; but nowhere more so than in the far-famed boroughs of Cricklade, Wootton Bassett, and Malmesbury, where despotism has ceased to reign, and that vast body of corrupt influence which had heretofore predominated, was now for ever extinguished. The lion had been bearded in his den, and vanguished.

The result of this struggle affords a memorable example of what may be accomplished by decision and firmness in the defence of truth and justice when opposed to intrigue and subterfuge; whereby a signal triumph had been gained, which far exceeded the expectations of the friends of Reform; and never was the language of the immortal Bard (with a slight adaption) more applicable than on this occasion.

"Thrice is he arm'd that hath his quarrel just ;
 "And he but *speckless*, "though" *prepared* his TONGUE,
 "Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted."

HOW THE PASSING OF THE REFORM BILL WAS CELEBRATED.

The Reformers of this *immaculate* Borough feeling that they had been dreadfully wronged in being deprived of exercising the right of their votes, determined, should the Reform Bill pass, to celebrate the same in a manner becoming so glorious an event.

Soon after the Royal Assent had been given to the Bill, a meeting of the Friends of Reform was convened at the King's Arms Inn, when a series of Resolutions was adopted, and a Committee appointed, whose exertions were unremitting in carrying them into effect.

A subscription was entered into, at the head of which stood the names of the Earl of Suffolk; Lord Viscount Andover; and Robert Gordon, Esq. M.P.: the inhabitants

also (the Corporation excepted) contributed generally. With a view to throw party feeling into the shade, it was decided that a cold dinner, upon as large a scale as the funds would allow, should be provided, to which persons of all ranks without distinction might be admissable. Tuesday the 21st day of August, 1832, (being the Anniversary of His Majesty's birthday) was selected as peculiarly suited to the occasion. The morning appeared rather threatening, but still this did not check the preparations which were about to be made, for as early as 7 o'clock large handsome flags were seen suspended from the windows of several of the houses. About 9 o'clock it commenced raining with unabating violence for the space of six or eight hours; an incident at which some *chuckled*, foolishly imagining that the whole affair would end in *smoke*; at the same time however forgetting that the *smoke* had already vanished during the preparations of realities more substantial than *Cheese-cakes*, or *Sauce à la Forbes*; and it was determined, that, come what might, the said realities should, so far as was practicable, be applied to the purposes for which they were originally intended.

Nothing daunted by the "peltings of the pitiless storm," a body, consisting of horsemen and great numbers on foot, headed by a band of music and several flags, proceeded at 12 o'clock, agreeably to preconcerted arrangements, to Charlton House, the seat of the Earl of Suffolk, for the purpose of escorting four hogs-heads of strong beer of the very best quality, which his lordship had handsomely given, in addition to his former liberal subscription. Here they were plentifully regaled in the Great Hall; his lordship and family conversing in the most affable manner with several of the party. The Procession, having been joined by a band of music from Purton, began to retrace their

steps, and having paraded through the town, the four hogs-heads of beer were safely deposited in the large clothing manufactory, near St. John's Bridge. In a large meadow (the use of which was kindly granted) 13 extensive tables had by this time been erected, and covered with white cloths. The weather and the state of the ground being of the most unfavourable kind, it was agreed that the dinner should be postponed till the morrow, and the announcement of which occasioned little or no disappointment, except to the hundreds, who, in spite of the rain, arrived from the neighbouring villages in order to witness a spectacle so novel. The spirit of the day was kept up by the enlivening performances of the bands and a partial discharge of Fire-works in the evening.

The morning of Wednesday opened with every appearance of the weather clearing up. The bands of music played through the streets, whilst crowds of people in their holiday attire were pouring in from the adjacent parts, presenting a scene of the most animating description. The principal shops being closed, at 2 o'clock a procession of professional gentlemen and tradesmen paraded the different streets of the town arm-in-arm, preceded by bands of music, and thirty handsome flags and banners. On the approach of the Procession to the entrance of the field the number of persons congregated was so dense as to render it almost impossible to stir. The gates, at which Officers were stationed, being opened, those who possessed tickets, amounting to nearly 2,000, were admitted to the tables. At a cross table at either extremity of the field was a baron of roast beef of enormous dimensions, each surmounted by a small dark-blue flag, bearing the inscription, "*The Roast Beef of Old England.*" Just previous to the sitting down to dinner, at the sound of the bugle, the Band struck up

the tune "God save the King," in which the assembled multitude joined in singing the following lines written for the occasion as a Grace,—no Clergyman being present to engage in so important a duty.

TUNE,—*"God save thl King."*

Author of ev'ry good,
Bless to our use this food
What Thou dost give ;
Grant we may always see,
That blessings flow from Thee,
Now, let us thankful be,
And while we live.

At the conclusion of the dinner, which was of the most inviting nature, and during the evening, the usual loyal and patriotic toasts were given and heartily responded to. The aggregate quantity of viands amounted to 2 oxen, 4 sheep, about 600 half-quartern loaves, and upwards of 80 plum-puddings, besides 8 hogs-heads of strong beer. On the following day the remains were distributed to nearly 100 poor families

Such an assemblage was never before witnessed in the town; it being computed that there were at one time not less than four thousand persons in the field; every commanding position outside the gates being thronged. The evening concluded with a grand display of Fireworks.

BOROUGH ELECTION IN 1832.

Lord Viscount Andover was returned for the borough on Monday, Dec. 10th, 1832, without opposition. He was chaired through the streets, attended by some thousands of persons assembled to witness a sight so novel here, and which had never taken place before within the memory of man.

SECTION X.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF EMINENT NATIVES, AND
OTHER PERSONS WHO WERE CONNECTED WITH THE
ABBAY OR TOWN.

THE Town of Malmesbury derives some importance from the persons of eminence who are considered as having been natives of the place. The most celebrated of them are St. Aldhelm; William of Malmesbury, the monkish historian; and Thomas Hobbes; of whom, as well as of a few less distinguished individuals, the following notices, it is hoped, will not be thought irreverant.

These biographical sketches will be arranged as nearly as possible in chronological order. Maeldulph, the first abbot of Malmesbury, would consequently have engaged our earliest attention, if every thing of importance that is known concerning him had not been already laid before the reader.*

Aldhelm or *Adelme*, the second abbot of Malmesbury, was one of the royal family of Wessex, he was the bishop of Sherborne, a man who conferred great benefits upon his countrymen, the West Saxons, and whose memory was honoured, in a life of him, written by the great king Alfred.

ALDHELM was indeed a man who deserved this honour—

* See pages 28, 31, and 123.

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and it is a great pity we have not his life by Alfred now remaining to us, instead of such accounts as the monks of later ages have mixed up with too many legendary tales. He was the founder of the abbey of Malmesbury. His own wealth and interest enabled him to endow it with a good estate, so large that it is said it would take a man a good part of the day, if he set out early in the morning, to go round the borders. Here he built two churches, one within the monastery, and one without its walls, for the villagers, or townspeople; and at different periods of his life he built other churches in Wessex, particularly at Dorchester, Dorset. His birth-place and parentage are both uncertain but he is generally supposed to have been born at Malmesbury, and to have descended from the royal family of Wessex. He received part of his education under his predecessor Maeldulph; and he was afterwards the pupil of Adrian, Abbot of St. Austins, Canterbury, and of the Archbishop Theodore. Under these tutors he acquired a considerable proficiency in the learning of that age: and, embracing the monastic profession, devoted himself to the duties of religion and to the cultivation of literature.

Aldhelm appears to have been a very active and useful member of the community to which he had attached himself. Monasteries were not in those early ages extensive and regular institutions, having a number of officers, under various degrees of subordination, to preside over their internal economy. In the time of Maeldulph, the management of the affairs of the convent devolved entirely on the abbot. But Maeldulph seems to have been far advanced in years, when Aldhelm joined this society; in consequence of which, he soon became associated with his preceptor, in the government of the abbey. Their joint endeavours to raise the credit of the new establishment, and the charter

granted them by the bishop of Winchester, have been noticed already. It is universally acknowledged that the increasing reputation of the monastery at this period, was in a great measure owing to the industry and abilities of Aldhelm. But the liberality of this illustrious ecclesiastic was not confined within the walls of his convent. Aldhelm having been perfectly instructed in the learned languages, studied his native tongue, and also the rules of poetical composition: so that according to *Elfred*, he surpassed all his contemporaries in writing English poetry; and was remarkable for his skill as a vocal performer of music, and as an orator. Elfred also mentions a copy of verses which he was accustomed to sing in public.

The writer who made the following copy of the Saxon Psalter was an Englishman, who seems to have lived about A.D. 1000. The first fifty of the Psalms are in prose, and the rest in verse. It is likely that the version is altogether Aldhelms: at least there is no reason to doubt that the metrical part is his. In one or two places he seems to speak as if he aimed to suit the meaning of the psalm to the way of worship and customs observed in the monasteries. Thus, in the eighty-fourth psalm his version in modern English is nearly this:—

Lord, to me thy ministers are
 Courts of honour, passing fair :
 And my spirit deems it well
 There to be, and there to dwell :
 Heart and flesh would fain be there.
 Lord, thy life, thy love to share.
 There the sparrow speeds her home,
 And in time the turtles come.
 Safe their nestling young they rear,
 Lord of hosts, thine altars near ;
 Dear to them thy peace,—but more
 To the souls who there adore.

Fig. 1-5.

And again, in the sixty-eighth :—

God the word of wisdom gave ;
 Preachers, who his voice have heard,
 Taught by him, in meekness brave,
 Speed the message of that word.
 Mighty King, with beauty crown'd !
 In his house the world's proud spoil,
 Oft in alms-deeds dealt around,
 Cheers the poor wayfarer's toil.
 If among his clerks you rest,
 Silver plumes shall you enfold,
 Fairer than the culver's breast.
 Brighter than her back of gold.

Ver. 11-13.

When Aldhelm wrote, there were no copies of the Hebrew Psalter in England, and in the last of these verses he seems to have mistaken a word in the Greek or Latin version of the Psalms ; but in many places, where the meaning is more plain, his verse is both true and full of good poetry, and it is every where remarked by a spirit of devotion, breaking forth into words of thankful wonder and praise ; and the mistakes which here and there occur in the sense, are not such as to have taught any false doctrine. The version of the Psalms, therefore, into their own language, and adapted to their own national melody to accompany the harp, was a most valuable gift to the Saxons. The words in the last verse seem here to invite the hearer to take up his abode among God's clerks in a monastery ; and, in the second to speak of the alms, or doles of food and clothing, which the charity of Christians in those days gave away at the gates of religious houses. The words were prompted by the state of religious society at that time

On the death of Maeldulph, in 672, Aldhelm succeeded him ; and occupied the station of abbot twenty-eight years. It was probably during this period that he composed those

works which have so much contributed to preserve his fame.

At the time that he became settled in his bishopric, which was about the year 705, Aldhelm may be considered as having attained the highest pitch of literary fame. The knowledge of his learning was so widely extended, that his correspondence was much sought by the literati of those times. Arevelle, a prince of Scotland, who had employed himself in writing, sent his works to Aldhelm for correction; requesting him to rub off the Scotch rust, and give them the last polish.

He was likewise a friend of the persecuted Wilfrid, archbishop of York.

While Aldhelm was bishop of Sherborne, in all probability, he founded the convents of Frome, and Bradford. William of Malmesbury also informs us, that he induced King Ina to expend an immense sum of money in erecting and ornamenting a chapel at Glastonbury. Neither did he neglect the monastery in which he had been educated; for besides the privileges which Aldhelm procured from Pope Sergius I., the donations bestowed by Ina on Malmesbury Abbey may be justly supposed to have been granted in consequence of his solicitation.

The writings of Aldhelm are very numerous, and relate to a variety of subjects. The regard he had for learning, and the nature of those scientific and literary pursuits which chiefly engaged his attention, are well represented in a letter which he wrote to Hedda, bishop of Winchester. Some idea of the extent of his studies may be formed from the following account of his writings. The relative periods at which his different treatises were composed cannot be ascertained, but the circumstances which gave rise to some of them have been recorded.

Aldhelm at the request of his diocesan wrote a book "Against the mistakes of the Britons, concerning the celebration of Easter." This brought over many of them to the Catholic usage, with regard to that festival. He wrote "A Treatise on the Eight Principal Virtues;" "Of the Dignity of the Number Seven, collected from the Flowers of the Old and New Testaments, and from the Doctrines of Philosophers;" "Of the Admonition of Brotherly Charity;" "Of the Nature of Insensible Things, metaphorically said to be indued with speech;" "Of the Monastic Life;" "Of the Praise of the Saints;" "Of Arithmetic;" "Of Astrology;" "Of the Rules of Metrical Feet;" "Of the Figures called Metaplasm and Synalœpha;" "Of the Scanning and Elipses of Verses;" "A Dialogue concerning Metre;" "Homilies and Epistles." These pieces which are written in Latin, are mentioned by Bede and William of Malmesbury, but are not now extant. The poetical works of Aldhelm are "Enigmas," consisting of one thousand verses, written in imitation of the poet Symphorius; "Ballads," in the Saxon language, with other pieces, which were published by Martin Delrio, of Mentz, octavo, 1601. He likewise wrote a treatise partly in prose, and partly in hexameter verse, "In Praise of Verginity;"* dedicated to Ethelburga, Abbess of Barking. It is to be found among Bede's *Opuscula*.

* In the British Museum, *Bibliotheca Regia MSS.* are three copies of Aldhelm's treatise *de Laude Virginitatis*; one of which contains a very antique portrait of the author. To another of these MSS. are appended, *Nomina Reliquarum, quarum partem dedit gloriosissimus and victoriosissimus Monasterio Sæ Mariæ, —Antiquæ Litæaturæ Septentrionalis, liber Alter per H. Wanley, fol. p. 182.*—The names of the donor and of the monastery have been obliterated; but probably the relics referred to were those given by King Athelstan to the Abbey of Malmesbury; Vide p. 39, huj. lib.

illustrate the ecclesiastical customs of that period.

“After the death of Hedda, bishop of Winchester, that diocese was divided into two parts, because it was too extensive to be governed by one person. One of these new bishoprics was given to Daniel, and the other to Aldhelm. The former of these prelates outlived the latter for a considerable length of time, and continued in possession of the see of Winchester forty-three years. Towards the close of his life, Daniel retired to the monastery of Malmesbury, that he might enjoy some repose from the duties of his station; and continued there till his death, practising the duties of monachism. It is generally asserted that he was buried at Malmesbury, though the inhabitants of Winchester pretend that he was interred in that city.

It does not clearly appear from this account that Daniel resided at Malmesbury as superior of the monastery; but since the researches of Mr. Wharton have evinced that he really possessed that situation, it may be inferred that it was usual for the ecclesiastics of those days, to hold church preferments of different degrees of dignity, *in commendam*: a practice which did not so commonly obtain in this country, in after ages. These circumstances render it probable that Aldhelm did not resign the abbey of Malmesbury till his death. There is a spring near the town called Daniel's Well; and it is said that it was at this spot where holy Daniel kept watch by night, when he was invested by Aldhelm with the pontifical robes. This well is a lasting evidence of Daniel's connection with the town of Malmesbury.

ATHELARD.

Athelard or Adelard was the fifth abbot of Malmesbury. He is characterised by Dugdale as a very learned, pious,

and good man.

Where he received his education, and to what community he belonged before he was raised to the abbacy is uncertain. He probably became superior of the monastery of Malmesbury about the middle of the eighth century. At this period, Offa, king of Mercia, conceived the design of dismembering the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury. For this purpose he applied to Pope Adrian I., and at length obtained a bull for erecting an archbishopric at Litchfield; to which all the bishops in Mercia and East Anglia were appointed suffragans. This tyrannical monarch also plundered many of the churches in his dominions, and among the rest that of Malmesbury.

Athelard was favoured with the friendship and correspondence of the celebrated Alcuin, who flourished in the court of Charlemaine. William of Malmesbury has preserved some fragments of his letters to our prelate, which afford strong testimonies of his merit.

One of these epistles contains a congratulatory address to Athelard, on the fortunate termination of his embassy to Rome. The benevolent purpose of another of them was to induce the primate to permit Adulph who had been made archbishop of Litchfield, to retain the pall during his life. This request was complied with.

Two general councils were held during the time that Athelard presided over the English Church. The first of them was at Cloveshoo or Cliff, in Kent, in the year 800. It was convened for the recovery of certain church lands usurped by Offa, king of Mercia. Three years after another council was held at the same place, for the purpose of carrying into execution the decree of Pope Leo, relative to the see of Litchfield.

Soon after this, in the year 803, Athelard died and was probably buried at Malmesbury.

It does not appear that this prelate left any writings behind him: probably the ecclesiastical concerns in which he was so deeply involved deprived him of leisure for any literary undertaking at least during the latter part of his life.

ÆLFRIC.

Ælfric, Alfred, or Eluric, was a Benedictine monk, celebrated for his piety and learning, who was superior of the abbey of Malmesbury, in the latter part of the tenth century. He was contemporary with Ælfric the Grammarian, archbishop of Canterbury; and lived about fifty years before Ælfric Bata, archbishop of York; with both of whom he has been confounded.

But few particulars can be collected relating to the life of Ælfric. Of his birth, extraction, and education, we have not been able to obtain any information. His appointment to the abbacy by King Edgar, after the secular priests were ejected from the monastery, has been already noticed. It is not improbable that he was superior of this abbey before the monks were removed by King Edwy, and consequently that he was only restored by his successor. In the charter of Edgar, Ælfric is characterized as a person well skilled in ecclesiastical affairs. From the accounts we have of his actions and writings this encomium appears to be by no means undeserved. It is probable that in the time of this abbot, the oldest part of the present remains of the abbey church was erected; and he is supposed to have superintended the undertaking, and to have had a considerable share in the embellishment of the building.

We are also informed that he caused instrumental music to be made use of in the church-service ; but it is uncertain whether he himself practised that art.

Ælfric continued abbot of Malmesbury about four years after his appointment to that office by Edgar ; and in 977, or 978, succeeded bishop Sidemann, in the see of Crediton. He continued in possession of this bishopric several years, and died towards the close of the tenth century.

This learned ecclesiastic wrote a treatise entitled "*De rerum natura* ;" i. e. "Of the nature of things." He also compiled "The History of Malmesbury Abbey," according to Collier : though Pits and others assure us it was that of Glastonbury ; but they are probably mistaken. "The Life of St. Aldhelm" was another of Ælfric's productions. He is said likewise to have translated the *Pentateuch*, *Judges*, and *Job*, into the Anglo-Saxon language ; which translation was published at Oxford, in the year 1699.

Besides these writings, there is a collection of Homilies, translated from the Latin into the Saxon language, which is still extant. This version has been generally attributed to Ælfric, archbishop of Canterbury, though Mr. Wharton ascribed it to Ælfric Bata ; but there are reasons for believing that it was not done by either of these prelates, and that it was the work of Ælfric, bishop of Crediton. For it appears from a Latin address to Wulstan, archbishop of York, prefixed to the translation, that it was executed at his request. Now this prelate died in 955, and as Ælfric, archbishop of Canterbury survived that period fifty years, it is probable that he must have been too young to have performed the task in question. Dr. James also informs us, that a Saxon MS., containing these homilies, was found at Exeter, in the library belonging to the dean and chapter,

by whom it was presented to the Bodleian Library. These circumstances certainly do not amount to a positive proof of the opinion just advanced ; and perhaps at this distance of time it may be impossible to determine absolutely who was the translator, but it must be admitted that the claim of the Bishop of Crediton to that title is not entirely without foundation.

OLIVER OF MALMESBURY.

Oliver of Malmesbury was a monk belonging to the monastery, within the precincts of which he is stated to have been born, and is said to have lived in the eleventh century. He is described to have written Treatises on Astrology, Geometry, and other subjects, none of which are extant. William of Malmesbury records a prediction which he uttered, relative to the approaching calamities of his country, on the appearance of a comet, a few years before the Norman Conquest. But the same historian gives an account of an experiment made by Oliver, which shews that he was an enterprising, if not a skilful mechanic.—“Having affixed wings to his hands and feet, he ascended a lofty tower, whence he took his flight, and was borne upon the air for the space of a furlong ; but owing to the violence of the wind, or to his own fear, he then fell to the ground and broke both his legs.” Upon what principles the “wings” used by this early English aéronaut were constructed can only be conjectured ; probably they were contrived on the plan of a parachute.

GODFREY OF MALMESBURY.

In the twelfth century, Godfrey of Malmesbury, a Benedictine monk, wrote an account of the affairs of this country, from the arrival of the Saxons in England, to the twenty-ninth year of Henry I., under the title of “Annals.” He

gives an account of many transactions which happened in the northern part of the kingdom.—Roger de Moveden appears to have been indebted to this author, 'as the same accounts are to be found in writings of both; though the circumstance may have arisen from both these historians having had before them the same original records.

ROGER LE POER.

Among those who were concerned in the transactions which took place in the former part of the turbulent reign of King Stephen, Roger le Poer, bishop of Sarum, was one of the most conspicuous.

This ambitious priest had gained the favour of Henry Beauclerc, long before his attaining the crown of England, by hurrying over a mass with such dispatch (when a poor curate at Caen, in Normandy) that the prince swore aloud 'that he had now found a chaplain fit for a soldier,' and instantly attached him to his person as domestic priest.

Roger was made bishop of Sarum in 1107. He was also Lord Chief Justice, Lord Treasurer, and Lord Chancellor; and several times governed the kingdom in the absence of King Henry I. Notwithstanding the numerous favours he had received from that monarch, this perfidious prelate assisted Stephen against Matilda, the daughter of his benefactor. He met with a just reward for his ingratitude, Stephen wishing to lessen the power of the ecclesiastics, seized on several fortified castles which belonged to some of the bishops. Roger opposed this fancied encroachment on the rights of the church, but was at length obliged to deliver all his fortresses into the hands of the king, and with them the vast mass of wealth which he possessed, which is said to have amounted to 10,000 marks in money.

besides plate and jewels. This avaricious prelate was so much afflicted at the loss of his property that he survived the event but a short time.

In 1118, Roger siezed the abbey of Malmesbury, and kept possession of it for more than twenty years. He also appropriated to himself the abbey of Abingdon.

PETER BALDWIN.

Peter Baldwin, who lived about the year 1130, was a Benedictine monk, and a member of the fraternity at Malmesbury. He was a very respectable poet in his time, and is said to have written the lives of the most eminent monks of this house, in verse ; though none of his works are now extant. He is said also to have cultivated other branches of literature, besides poetry.

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY.

William of Malmesbury, one of the most celebrated of our English historians, was born at Malmesbury, in the twelfth century. He held the double office of precentor and librarian to his monastery ; and in his latter capacity, was enabled, by the command of ancient manuscripts which he possessed, to write several books concerning the history of the ages preceding his own, from the arrival of the Saxons in England ; with some local and personal notes of great value. He wrote the purest latin of any person in that age. His writing was so engaging in style, and the language so pure and elegant, that we can only regret his not living in a more enlightened age. Bale and Pits call him William Somerset, and suppose that he was so denominated from his birth-place ; while others imagine that he was born at Malmesbury.

Little or nothing is known relative to the personal history or pursuits of William, except what he incidentally mentions in his works. He wrote the most of them under the patronage of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, to whom they are dedicated. In the introduction to the second book of his treatise "*De Gestis Regum Anglorum*," he says that his favourite studies were Logic, Physics, Ethics, and History, especially the last. His principal writings consist of five books of English history, from the Saxon invasion to the death of Henry I.; two books relative to the reign of Stephen till the year 1143; four books on the Ecclesiastical History of England; the Life of St. Aldhelm; and a Treatise on the Antiquity of Glastonbury Abbey. All these have been published, the three former among the *Scriptores post Bedam*, by Sir Henry Saville; the Life of St. Aldhelm, in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, and in the *Quindecim Scriptores*, where also the last-mentioned work appears.

Among the original historians of the middle ages William of Malmesbury has always been placed in the first rank. He seems to have had access to an ample collection of materials, which he carefully and judiciously employed in forming a valuable history of his native country. The period of his death is uncertain; but it is probable that it was not long subsequent to the conclusion of his history of his own times. Notwithstanding the credit which the monks of Malmesbury derived from the fame of William, yet to so low an ebb was learning fallen, in the monastery, just before its Dissolution, that Leland, when he visited the place, in vain inquired for the tomb of the historian; and he informs us, that so miserably ignorant were the monks, that not more than one or two of them remembered his name. William of Malmesbury wrote many other treatises

relating to History and Divinity, most of which are preserved in manuscript in the British Museum, and in other public libraries. A list of these has been published by the Rev. J. Sharpe, in the preface to his valuable translation of "The History of the Kings of England, and the Modern History." *Quarto*, 1815.

Learning flourished in the monastery of Malmesbury after the twelfth century ; though the names of those literary characters who existed here since that period are buried in oblivion. There were however two anonymous monks of Malmesbury who must not be passed by unnoticed.

The author of a work entitled "Eulogium Historiarum" was a member of this convent. This treatise contains many circumstances relative to the foundation of the abbey, the property with which it was endowed, and the lives of some of the abbots.* The time when he lived is not exactly known.

Another monk of Malmesbury wrote "The Life of King Richard II." an edition of which has been published by Mr. Thomas Hearne.

WILLIAM STUMPE.

Among the remarkable persons who have been connected with Malmesbury, William Stumpe, an eminent clothier here, in the sixteenth century, deserves some notice. He carried on a very great trade in this town, as the following anecdote will evince. It also indicates a peculiarity in the

*Leland calls the *Eul. Hist.* the Malmesbury Chronicle ; and gives the same title to another historical work, which was probably written by the same author. Both these chronicles are contained in one volume, in *Bibl. Cotton. Galba, E. vii.*—and excerpts from them are to be found in *Leland's Collectanea*. V. i. p. 303, &c. V. ii. p. 395, &c.

manners of that period ; since it appears that manufacturers must have been accustomed to supply with provisions their labourers, as well as their domestics. We are told that Henry VIII. after he had been hunting in Bradon Forest, (which lies about four miles north-east of Malmesbury,) came, with all his retinue of courtiers and servants, to dine with Mr. Stumpe. Though this visit was quite unexpected, yet it seems our manufacturer was not at all disconcerted. He gave his royal and noble guests an hospitable reception ; and ordering his train of workmen to abstain from eating till night, he had the provision which had been prepared for them, served up before his majesty and his followers. This supplied them with a plentiful though not a dainty meal ; and they went away pleased with their entertainment.

Mr. Stumpe was a great benefactor to the inhabitants of Malmesbury ; for having purchased the abbey of the king after the dissolution of monasteries, he permitted it to be used as a parish church.

The time of his death is uncertain. His son, Sir James Stumpe, Knight, was married to the daughter of Sir Edward Baynton ; and served the office of High Sheriff for the county of Wilts, in the reigns of Edward VI., and Queen Elizabeth.

THOMAS HOBBS.

In the constellation of luminaries that enlightened the literary horizon of Britain, during the seventeenth century, Thomas Hobbes shines with distinguished lustre. The writings of this justly celebrated philosopher contain the outlines of that moral and metaphysical system, the propagation of which has gained immortal honour for Hartley, Hume, and Priestley. Like all other innovators in science, this great man experienced opposition, and even obloquy

from his contemporaries ; but impartial posterity will admit, that such merit as he possessd would have covered errors greater than he committed, and will allot him a distinguished place among those benefactors of mankind whose efforts have contributed to burst asunder the chains which ignorance and superstition had forged for the human mind.

Hobbes was born April 5th, 1588, in the parish of Westport,* within the borough of Malmesbury; of which parish his father was vicar. At the time of his birth, the Spanish Armada was upon the coast of England ; and his mother is said to have been so highly terrified at the alarm which it occasioned, that she was prematurely delivered. He was, however, of a strong and healthy constitution ; and displayed, even in his earliest years very considerable abilities for learning. Though the father of Hobbes had no taste for literature, and probably but little acquaintance with it, yet he did not neglect the education of his son. In the eighth year of his age our author was put under the tuition of Mr. Robert Latimer, then master of the Grammar School at Malmesbury ;† who having a high opinion of his capacity, treated him with great kindness, and did all he could to assist him in his studies. In these he made so rapid a progress, that before he went to the University he translated the *Medea of Euripides* out of Greek into Latin verse.

In 1603, he became a student of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and took his Bachelor's degree, and in 1607 his degree of Master of Arts. While at college he was chiefly supported by an allowance from his uncle, Francis

* The house in which he was born was standing till within these few years, it was situated near the parish church.

† At this school, John Aubrey, the antiquarian, received the first rudiments of his education. He was born at Easton Piers, in Wiltshire, in 1625 or 1626, and died at the house of Lady Long, of Draycot, in 1700.

Hobbes, who was alderman of Malmesbury; and who at his death left him a small annuity that he might be enabled to pursue his studies. The following year, on the recommendation of the Principal of Magdalen Hall, he was taken into the family of Lord Hardwicke, afterwards Earl of Devonshire, as tutor to his son.

In 1610, Hobbes made the tour of France and Italy with his pupil. After his return he published a translation of the History of *Thucydides*. He travelled again with the son of Sir Gervase Clifton, in 1631: but was recalled by the Countess Dowager of Devonshire, to be tutor to the young earl, with whom he went abroad, and returned in 1637. About 1641, perceiving the probability of a civil war, he retired to Paris, and there wrote his books entitled *De Cive* and *The Leviathan*, which startled the divines, and drew a great many pens against him. It was here that he taught mathematics to King Charles II. then an exile.

He was in favour with the king, who settled a pension on him of £100 per annum out of his privy purse. Hobbes was likewise visited by Cosmo de Medicis, then Prince, and afterwards Duke of Tuscany; and by other illustrious foreigners. At the Restoration, in 1660, he returned to England, and lived in a retired manner in the house of the Earl of Devonshire; but as every philosopher would likewise wish to be a poet, he translated the works of Homer, of which all we shall say is, that it is even unworthy of notice.

In 1666, his theological notions had been so much exposed by several very able men, among whom was the Lord-chancellor Clarendon, that a bill was brought into the House of Commons to inflict pains and penalties on Hobbes, as a propagator of atheism; but the proceedings were dropped through the intercession of his noble patron.

During the time the bill was depending in the House of Commons he expressed great uneasiness, especially as the act of the third of Henry IV. was then unrepealed, by which those who made innovations in religion were to be burnt alive, by a writ issuing out of chancery, called *De hæretico Comburendo*. He told the Earl of Devonshire that he never intended any harm by his writings, and that false conclusions had been drawn from his propositions. He likewise wrote an apology for his former works, declaring that what he had advanced were rather suppositions in order to obtain information, than positions to establish his own opinions. But if he was so much afraid of the wrath of man, we shall see that he was no less so of that of God, who is all purity, but who, according to his principles, was the author of sin,—who first prescribed a rule for the conduct of his creatures, and then deprived them of abilities to perform the required duties.

As Hobbes lived to a great age we are told that his last years were spent in continual apprehensions of death, and that when he was told there was no hopes of his recovery he said, "I wish there was a back door to creep out of the world."

He died at Hardwicke, in Devonshire, a seat of the Earl of Devonshire, December 4th, 1679, in the 91st year of his age, and was buried in the church of Hault-Hucknall, where a monument was erected to his memory.

His writings are numerous, and relate to a variety of subjects. A volume entitled "The Moral and Political Works of Thomas Hobbes," was printed in London, *folio*, 1750. It contained "Human Nature, or the Fundamental Elements of Policy;" "De Corpore Politico; or the Elements of Law, moral and politic;" "The Leviathan: or the Matter, Form, and Power of a Commonwealth, ecclesiastical

and civil;" "Behemoth; or the History of the Causes of the Civil Wars of England; besides some smaller pieces. He also published "An English Version of the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer;" and "Decameron Physiologicum; or Ten Dialogues on Natural Philosophy;" to which must be added several mathematical treatises, that did him no credit, as they contain many singular and absurd positions.

Mr. Hobbes was a man of considerable learning and great abilities. He had a very high opinion of himself and his writings, which he took no pains to conceal; nor did he appear to consider it as any weakness. His genius was lively and penetrating, and he was studious and indefatigable in his enquiries, but his reading was not very extensive. Homer, Virgil, Thucydides, and Euclid, were the authors with whom he was most delighted.*

Of his private character, Lord Clarendon has left the following testimonial:—"Mr. Hobbes is one of the most ancient acquaintance I have in the world, and of whom I have always had a great esteem, as a man who besides his eminent parts of learning and knowledge, hath always been looked upon as a man of probity, and of a life free from scandal."† Few authors have encountered more opposition than the Philosopher of Malmesbury. A vague charge of atheism has been brought against him by his adversaries; but since the philosophical principles he professed have been examined and admitted by some of the ablest defenders of religion, more justice has been done to his character. His writings contain repeated testimonies in favour of christianity,‡ and he practised the duties of religion. It is particularly deserving of notice that he

* British Biography. Vol. v., p. 16, 17.

† Survey of the Leviathan, p. 3.

‡ See the Leviathan, p. 203, 204, and De Cive, cap. 3, s. 33.

received the sacrament several times with apparent devotion, according to the account of the Earl of Devonshire's chaplain.* His political principles were certainly reprehensible, as they were calculated to promote tyranny and oppression; he was, upon the whole, a man of virtue, and was undoubtedly a bold and original thinker. Timidity, however, was a prominent trait in his character. He could never reconcile himself to the thoughts of death. The freedom of his opinions and sentiments formed a striking contrast with this part of his conduct.

KING ATHELSTAN.

It has been commonly alleged that King Athelstan was the illegitimate son of Edward; and William of Malmesbury tells a romantic tale of the circumstances which led to his birth, declaring that his mother was the daughter of a neatherd; yet in another place he states that she was of noble lineage. The tale has about it an air of improbability, and it reads like many others which the monkish annalists of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries were so partial of recording; tales, some of which are not of the most edifying character for morality, and which are not worthy of being perpetuated. Their omission from the present record will not, in the least degree, detract from its accuracy, nor will its real interest be thereby lessened; while the claims of truth and of propriety will be strictly observed.

Athelstan gave promise in childhood of the high character, and the eminent abilities which distinguished his manhood. He was only six years old when Alfred died, but the grandfather was greatly interested by his beauty,

* Northouck's Hist. and Class. Dict. Art. Hobbes.

spirit, and manners. His strong-minded aunt, Ethelfleda, superintended his education, and, as a boy, he was a favourite among her dependants in Mercia; who were afterwards the first to recognize him as king. He was thirty years of age when Edward died, and the witan assigning to him the sceptre, in accordance with the wish of his father, he was crowned at Kingston by Athelm, archbishop of Canterbury. How long this practice had existed in England is not known; or whether it was originated in the case of Alfred. Some of the thanes intrigued to set up Edwin, a younger brother of Athelstan's, and a plot was formed to seize the latter at Winchester and deprive him of sight; but the plot was discovered and defeated. Like his father, Athelstan soon began to be troubled by the Danes of the north and east of England; and in order to punish and repress them he marched with a large force into Northumbria, and after severe chastisement, compelled them to sue for peace. After the rough and ready fashion of those times, he gave to Sigtryg, the Danish king of Northumbria, his sister Editha in marriage, as a pledge of amity; but the barbarian soon tired of his wife, and repented of the change in religion which had been made a condition of the marriage, and abandoned both at the same time, thereby provoking his brother-in-law, who prepared to invade the country. Sigtryg died before this could be accomplished, and his two sons fled, on which Athelstan became master of the territory. Returning to the west he exacted homage and tribute from the Welsh tribes who had before yielded to his father. He next turned his arms against the old tribes of Cornwall, who were still turbulent, and impatient of the Saxon yoke; driving them from Devonshire, where they had again made encroachments, and reducing them to obedience and good order. During these exploits, however,

secret and alarming preparations were being made for his own conquest, by Anlaff, son of Sigtryg. He had fled to the Baltic, and from among the hardy adventurers who peopled its coasts, ready for any desperate enterprise which offered plunder, he had gathered a formidable body, which was swelled by numerous troops from the wild tribes of Ireland. With these, Anlaff suddenly appeared in the Humber, with six hundred and fifteen ships, threatening England in the year 937 with a greater danger even than any which had threatened it in former times. Athelstan was equal to the crisis. The governors whom he had left in the north were instructed to gain time by pretended negotiation, and by the offer of large sums of money; and the time thus gained was turned to good account by the king in gathering all his forces, and in enlisting the aid of mercenary troops. There were still great numbers of sea rovers ready to sell their services and those of the bands who followed them, to any one who would pay a sufficient price, and to fight for any cause or on any side, even though it might be against their own brethren; and, in the emergency, Athelstan secured the aid of two of these vikings, named Thorolf and Egils.

Anlaff being desirous to reconnoitre the position and strength of his opponent, adopted an expedient very common in those times. Disguised as a minstrel, he wandered into the English camp, and observed all he wanted to see, even entering the royal presence and playing before Athelstan while at dinner. One of the mercenary troops suspected that it was Anlaff beneath the disguise, for he knew him well, having served under him in the north; and on his departure revealed his suspicions to the king, who upbraided him with perfidy for not having seized Anlaff. To this rebuke, the rough warrior from the north replied

"O king, the oath which I have taken to you, I once gave to Anlaff. If I had broken it to him, I might have been faithless to you." Athelstan was convinced, and by the man's advice, removed to another part of the field; advice, the wisdom of which was proved by the event, for that night an attack was directed against the spot which the king had occupied. and the bishop of Sherborne, who had meanwhile arrived with more soldiers, was slain, with nearly all his attendants.

The successful issue of the battle of Brunanburh was of such consequence, that it raised Athelstan to the utmost dignity in the eyes of all Europe. The kings of the Continent sought his friendship, and England began to assume a majestic part amid the other nations of the West. He also marched into the kingdom of Wessex and defeated the Danes with great slaughter.*

Among the Anglo-Saxons it excited such rejoicings, that their poets aspired to commemorate it, and the songs were so popular, that one of them is inserted in the Saxon Chronicle, as the best memorial of the event.

Northumbria and Wales fell into the power of Athelstan by these victories. It effectually secured to him the throne of his ancestors; and the subjugation of the Anglo-Danes was so decisive, that he has received the fame of being the founder of the English monarchy. The claims of Egbert to this honour are unquestionably surreptitious. The competition can only be between Alfred and Athelstan. Our old chroniclers vary on this subject: some denominate Alfred the first Monarcha; some give it to Athelstan. The truth seems to be that Alfred was the first monarch of the

* For an account of the battle, and of his benefactions to Malmesbury, see pages 42—48.

Anglo-Saxons, but Athelstan was the first monarch of England. The Danish sovereigns, to whose colonies Alfred chose or was compelled to yield Northumbria and East Anglia, divided the island with him; therefore, though he first reigned monarch over the Anglo-Saxons from the utter destruction of the octarchy, it was not until Athelstan completely subjugated the Anglo-Danish power that the monarchy of England arose. After the battle of Brunanburh, Athelstan had no competitor: he was the immediate sovereign of all England, and was even nominal lord of Wales and Scotland; although the Scotch indignantly repudiate the latter title, and it certainly rests upon a somewhat shadowy foundation.

The fame of Athelstan extended beyond the island he governed. His accomplishments, his talents, and his successes, interested Europe in his favour, he received many proofs of the respect with which foreigners regarded him; and, from this period, England began to lose its insular seclusion, and to be concerned with the current transactions of Europe.

Before this time, even so far back as the reign of Ethelred, the appellation of Anglo or England had almost superseded that of Saxon. The chronicler Ethelwerd, who was of the royal race of Wessex, being descended from Alfred's brother Ethelred, calls his own countrymen West Angles, and the South and East Saxons he calls South and East Angles. This change of name was effected gradually; and henceforth it will be proper in speaking of the Anglo-Saxons, or the people who inhabited the districts formerly known as West Sussex, or Wessex, to designate them, the English; although, strictly, there was to be, a century later, an admixture of the Norman element to constitute the national character understood by the word English. Yet,

as has been already hinted, and as will be fully shown in the proper place, there was, in fact, a common stock from which the progenitors of the tribes known by these various names had sprung ; so that the Norman element was not so foreign as some would suppose.

The renown of Athelstan is enhanced by what foreign chroniclers have recorded of his relations with Bretagne, France, Germany, and Norway. His friendship was sought by the most powerful monarchs of his time ; and he was able, in several instances, to befriend and shelter them in adversity ; making England, even then, a safe harbour of refuge for the oppressed and the wronged. Of his nine sisters, three became nuns, and the remainder were united in matrimony to various kings, princes, and chiefs. The monks delight to narrate, as evidences of his piety, the monasteries which he built or endowed ; but a more lasting claim to the respect and gratitude of posterity is found in the translation of the Scriptures into Saxon which he ordered to be made ; a proof, on the one hand, of his own education and taste, and, on the other, of the improved state of learning since the time of Alfred, in whose reign such a work could not have been executed for lack of qualified translators. One stain has been cast upon the memory of Athelstan, that he caused his young brother Edwin to be put to sea in a open boat, for having been concerned in the revolt at the early part of his reign ; but this charge rests upon no reliable testimony, and it is quite inconsistent with all that is known of his general spirit and conduct. The account given by Henry of Huntingdon contains all that can now be ascertained. "He had the misfortune to lose in the waves of the ocean his brother Edwin, a youth of great vigour and good disposition."

In the year 941, October 27th, Athelstan died, regretted

by his subjects, and admired by the surrounding nations. He was of a slender habit, and middling stature. His hair, which was yellow, he wore in ringlets entwined in threads of gold. Among the higher orders of the nobility he maintained that reserve which became his superior station; to the lower classes of his subjects he was affable and condescending. From his father he had inherited a considerable treasure; but his liberality was not inferior to his opulence, and the principal use which he made of money was to enrich others. To his vassals he was accustomed to make valuable presents; the spoil collected in his military expeditions was always divided among his followers; and his munificence to the clergy was proved by the churches which he erected or repaired. Neither ought his charities to be left unnoticed; he annually redeemed, at his private expense, a certain number of convicts, who had forfeited their liberty for their crimes; and his bailiffs were ordered, under severe penalties, to support a pauper of English extraction on every two of his farms. As a legislator he was anxious to suppress offences, to secure an impartial administration of justice, and to preserve the standard coin of the realm in a state of purity. With this view he held assemblies of the witan at Greatly, Faversham, Exeter, and Thundersfield; associations were formed under his auspices for the protection of property; and regulations were enacted respecting the apprehension, the trial, and the punishment of malefactors. Negligence in the execution of the laws was severely chastised. A thane paid to the crown a fine of sixty shillings; a superior magistrate was amerced in double that sum, with the forfeiture of his office, when proved to have been false or delinquent. His people loved him for his bravery, kindness, and affability; his enemies feared his wrath and power. That power would have become greater and more consolidated, if his life had been

prolonged; and those tempests from the north might, perhaps, have been averted, which soon after again desolated England; but he had served his country wisely and well, and after ages have accorded to him the glory of having established what has ever since been called THE KINGDOM OF ENGLAND.

MARQUIS OF WHARTON AND MALMESBURY.

Thomas Lord Wharton, afterwards Marquis of Wharton and Malmesbury, was for many years high steward of the Borough of Malmesbury. His abilities as a statesman were very considerable. He enjoyed the confidence of three successive sovereigns, William III. Anne, and George I. and held considerable employments under each of them. Lord Wharton was created Viscount Winchenden, in Buckinghamshire, and Earl of Wharton, in 1706, by Queen Anne. He was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, November 25, 1708; and in 1714, he was advanced to the title of Marquis of Wharton and *Malmesbury*, by George I. The same year he was made Lord Privy Seal; he did not long enjoy these honours, dying in 1715.* The Marquis of Wharton was a man of genius and learning, and an encourager of learned men. Sir Richard Steele prefixed to the fifth volume of the *Spectator*, a dedication in which he acknowledges his obligations to him for favours which he had received, and bestows on him great, and probably deserved encomiums. His lordship was an actor in the Revolution, in 1688; and his general conduct showed that he was the friend of liberty; therefore his patronage does honour to the corporation of Malmesbury.

* Bolton's Extinct Peerage, p. 302.—Tablet of Memory, 4th edit. p. 211
Kimber's History of England, p. 414.

MARY CHANDLER.

Mary Chandler, an English poetess, was born at Malmesbury, in the year 1687. She was the daughter of the Rev. Henry Chandler, a dissenting divine, and being bred a milliner, she settled at Bath, where she carried on business for many years. In her childhood she displayed a strong partiality for poetry, which is said to have been excited by the perusal of Herbert's Poems at a very early age. As she grew older she improved her talents by the study of the best English writers; and, at length, ventured on poetical composition. She published several pieces, one of which, upon "Bath," passed through several editions, and was praised by Pope, who made her a visit. She was also distinguished by the friendly notice of the Countess of Hertford and by Mrs. Rowe. This lady was deformed in her person, a circumstance which induced her to refuse the matrimonial offers of a gentleman of large fortune. She died unmarried September 11, 1745, after an illness of nearly two years.

Mrs. Chandler appears to have been a woman of respectable abilities, and of a cultivated understanding. Her poems, which are written in an unaffected and natural style, breathe a spirit of true piety and philosophy.

DR. SAMUEL CHANDLER.

Dr. Samuel Chandler, a learned divine, was brother to the above-named poetess. Besides many other literary productions, Dr. Samuel Chandler was the author of "A Critical History of the Life of David;" two volumes 8vo. He died May 3rd, 1766, aged 73 years.

APPENDIX.

CATALOGUE OF MONASTERIES IN WILTSHIRE.

		Date of Foundation.	Value ac. to Dugdale.	
Ambresbury*,	Bened. Nun., ab.	980,	£495 15 2	
Ansty,	Kn. Hospital, ab.	1210,	81 8 5	Speed
Avebury Al. Pr.†,	Bened. Mon.,	1100,		
Bradford,	Mon., ab.	705,		
	Hospital,			
Bradenstoke Pr.,	Blk. Can. of St.			
	Austin,	1142,	212 19 3	
Bradfield Al. Pr.,	See Hullaving-			
	ton,			
Bromhore Pr.,	Blk. Can., t. Hen. II.			
Calne,	St. John's Hos.,		2 2 8	
Charleton Al. Pr.‡,	Premonst. Mo-			
Swanb. H.,	nastery,	1187,		
Clatford Al. Pr.||,	Bened. Mon., t. Will. I.,			
Corsham Al. Pr.§,	Bened. Mon., t. Will. I.,			
	¶ Bened. Mon., t. Hen. II.,		22 13 4	
Cricklade,	Hospital,		4 10 7	

* A British monastery is said to have been destroyed here in the 6th century. It is supposed to have been refounded by Alfred the Great ; but was converted into a Benedictine Nunnery by Elfrida, the widow of King Edgar.

† Cell to the Abbey of St. George, at Rocherville, in Normandy.

‡ Cell to the Abbey of L'isle Dieu, in Normandy.

|| Cell to the Abbey of St. Victor en Caux, in Normandy.

§ Cell to the Abbey of Stephen at Caen, in Normandy.

¶ Cell to the Abbey of Marmoustier, in Touraine.

		Date of Foundation.	Value ac. in Dugdale.	
Devizes,	Hospital for Lepers,	bef. 1207,		
_____	Hospital,			
Edington Pr.*,	Austin Friars, called Bon- hommes	1358,	£442 9 7	
Easton Pr. Kinwardst.				
H.,	Trinit. Friars, t. Hen. III.,		42 12 0	
Fisherton Pr.,	Domin. Friars, t. Edw. III.,			
Heytesbury,	Collegiate Ch. of St. Peter, bef. 1300,			
_____	Hospital,	ab. 1470,	38 4 7	Ecton.
Hullavington Al. Pr.†	Bened. Mon.,			
Ivychurch, Pr. Mon.				
Ederosum,	Bl. Can.,	t. Hen. II.,	122 8 6	
Kington, St. Michael,	Bened. Nun.,	bef. 1156,	25 9 1	
Kingawood,	Cisterc. Mon.,	1139,	244 11 2	
Lacock,	Austin Nun.,	1232,	168 9 2	
Longleat Pr.,	Bl. Can.,			
Maiden Bradley Pr.‡,	Bl. Can.,	1190,	180 10 4	
Malmesbury,||	Bened. Mon.,	974,	803 17 7½	
_____	_____ Nun.,			
_____	Kn. Hospital,			
Marlborough Pr.,	Gilbert Can.,	t. John,	30 9 6	
_____	St. John's Hos.,	bef. 1214,	6 18 4	
_____	St. Thomas's Hospital,	t. Hen. III.,		
_____	White Friars,	1316,		

* First erected in 1347, as a College for a Dean and Prebendaries.

† Cell to the Abbey of St. Victor en Caux, in Normandy.

‡ Founded as a Hospital for Lepers, under the care of secular priests, by Manasseh Biset, in the reign of Henry II., and refounded, as a Priory of Black Canons, by Hubert, Bishop of Salisbury.

|| First founded by Maidulph, about 642; but made a Benedictine Monastery by King Edgar.

	Date of Foundation.	Value ac. in Dugdale.	
St. Mary de Rupe, Cluniac Mon.,		£278 0 0	Stow,
Merton *, Hospital, t Hen. III.,			
Monkton Deverell			
Al. Pr. †, Bened. Mon., bef. 1086,			
Monkton Farley Pr., Cluniac Mon.,	1125,	153 14 2	
Okeburn Al. Pr. ‡, Bened. Mon.,	1149,		
Old Sarum Bishopric,	1072,		
Poulton Pr., Gilbert. Can., ab. 1337,		20 3 2	
Ramsbury Bishopric||,	905,		
Rockley, Knt. Templ.,	1156,		
Salisbury Bishopric,	1219,		From Old Sarum.
-----	St. Edm. Coll.		
	Sec. Can., bef. 1270,	102 5 10	
-----	Coll. de Vaux,	1260,	
-----	Vicar's Coll., t. Hen. IV.,	248 11 10	
-----	Hosp. at Harn-		
	ham, ab. 1220,	64 16 5	
-----	St. John's Hos-		
	pital,	0 6 8	
-----	Trinity Hosp., ab. 1393,		
-----Pr.,	Domin. Friars, t. Edw. I.,		
-----Pr.,	Franc. Friars, t. Hen. III.,		
Stanleigh§,	Cisterc. Mon.,	1151,	177 0 8
Stratton St. Marga-			
ret's, Al. Pr.,	aft. 1066,		
Tisbury ¶,	Mon., bef. 720,		

* Site unknown.

† Cell to the Abbey of Bec, in Normandy.

‡ Cell to the Abbey of Bec.

|| United to Sherborne in 1060; and in 1072 the See translated to Old Sarum

§ First established at Lockswell, near Chippenham, and removed to Stanleigh, in 1154.

¶ Given to the Abbey of Shaftesbury, by King Ethelred.

		Date of Foundation.	Value ac. to Dugdale.
Uphaven Al. Pr.*,	Bened. Mon.,	t. Hen. I.,	
Wilton †	Bened. Nun.,		£601 1 1
—	St. Giles' Hos-		
	pital,	t. Hen. I.,	5 13 4
—	St. John's Hos-		
	pital,	ab. 1217,	16 18 4
—	St. Mary Mag.		
	Hospital,		
—Pr.,	Domin Friars,		
Wootton Basset,	St. John's Hos-		
	pital.		

* Cell to the Abbey of St. Vaudreuil, in Normandy.

† Weoxtan, Earl of Wiltshire, founded a College for secular Clerks here, about 773. This was changed into a Nunnery in 800, by his widow St. Alberga, sister to King Egbert. Another Nunnery is said to have been erected here, by King Alfred in 871, with which the former was subsequently united.

S E A T S

OF

NOBLEMEN AND GENTLEMEN

IN WILTSHIRE.

This list, which, it is feared, is imperfect, is given for the purpose of obtaining additions and corrections.

Names of Places,	Of Proprietors.
Alderton Manor House ... ..	...Late Hedges family.
Amesbury House ... ..	...Sir Edmund Antrobus, Bart.
Ashcombe ... ..	...Lord Arundel.
Ashley Manor House ... ..	... { T. B. G. Estcourt-Sotheron, Esq., M.P.
Batford ... ..	...R. E. D. Shaftoe, Esq.
Blacklands House ... ..	... { Lately occupied by John Mere- wether, Esq.
Bowden Park ... ..	...Mrs. Dickenson.
Bowood ... ..	...Marquis of Lansdowne.
Boyton ... ..	...A. B. Lambert, Esq.
Bradley House ... ..	...Duke of Somerset.
Brickworth ... ..	...J. M. Eyre, Esq.
Broxmore ... ..	...Robert Bristow, Esq.
Burderop Park ... ..	...Thomas Calley, Esq.
Burton Hill ... ..	...Colonel Miles.
Castle Combe ... ..	...William Scrope, Esq.
Charlton Park ... ..	...Earl of Suffolk.
Chilton House ... ..	...Fulwar Craven, Esq.
—— Lodge ... ..	...John Pearse, Esq., M.P.

Names of Places.	Of Proprietors.
Chute Lodge... ..	... William Fowle, Esq.
Clarendon Lodge ... ..	... F. H. Bathurst, Esq.
Clift Hall ... ..	... Hon. Duncomb Pleydell Bouverie.
Compton House... ..	... Mrs. Heneage.
Compton Chamberlayne ... ..	... J. H. Penruddocke, Esq.
Conholt Park.....	... Sir W. Meadows, Bart.
Conock House ... ..	... Ernele Warriner, Esq.
Corsham House... ..	... P. C. Methuen, Esq.
Colepark ... ..	... Mrs. P. A. Lovell.
Cowsfield House ... ..	... Sir Arthur Paget, K.B.
Crawood ... ..	... J. Richmond Seymour, Esq.
Dauntsey ... ..	... H. Meux, Esq.
Dinton House ... ..	... William Wyndham, Esq.
Donhead Hall ... ..	... Godfrey John Kneller, Esq.
Down-Ampney ... ..	... Earl of St. Germaine.
Draycote ... ..	... W. P. L. Wellesley, Esq.
Durnford House... ..	... Miss Harris.
Easton Grey ... ..	... O. Smith, Esq.
Estcourt House ... ..	... W. Powell, Esq., M.P.
Everley House ... ..	... { Sir John Dugdale Astley, Bart., M.P.
Earl Stoke Park... ..	... G. Watson Taylor, Esq., M.P.
Farley House ... ..	... Lieut.-Col. Houlton.
Ferne House ... ..	... Thomas Grove, Esq.
Fonthill Abhey ... ..	... John Farquhar, Esq.
Hannington House .. ..	... Roger Montgomery, Esq.
Harnish House ... ..	... Thomas Clutterbuck, Esq.
Hartham Park ... ..	... Michael Joy, Esq.
Heytesbury House ... ..	... Sir W. P. A. A'Court, Bart.
Heywood House... ..	... Abraham Ludlow, Esq.
Hurdcot House ... ..	... Alexander Powell, Esq.
Ivy House ... ..	... Matthew Humphries, Esq.

Names of Places.	Of Proprietors.
Ivy-church... ..	...Henry Henxman, Esq.
Lackham House... ..	...Late George Montagu, Esq.
Lacock Abbey ... ..	...J. R. Grosett, Esq., M.P.
Lake House ... ..	...Rev. Edward Duke.
Liddiard Park ... ..	...Viscount Bolingbroke.
Littlecott Park ... ..	...Major-General E. L. Popham.
Lockeridge House ... ..	...Duke of Marlborough.
Longford Castle... ..	...Earl of Radnor.
Longleat ... ..	...Marquis of Bath.
Melchett Park ... ..	...John Osborne, Esq.
Monkton Farley House ... ..	...John Long, Esq.
Neston Park ... ..	...John Fuller, Esq.
Netherhaven House ... ..	...M. Hicks Beach, Esq.
New Hall ... ..	...J. T. Batt, Esq.
Newnton Park ... ..	... { T. B. G. Estcourt-Sotheron, Esq., M.P.
Notton ... ..	...John Awdry, Esq.
Oaksey House ... ..	...Mrs. Salisbury.
Oare ... ..	...John Goodman, Esq.
Pinkney Park ... ..	...E. E. Cresswell, Esq.
Poultton House ... ..	...Thomas Baskerville Mynors, Esq.
Pyt House ... ..	...John Bennett, Esq., M.P.
Rainscombe ... ..	...Rev. Dr. Rogers.
Ramsbury Manor ... ..	...Sir Francis Burdett, Bart., M.P.
Roche Court ... ..	...F. T. Egerton, Esq.
Rockley ... ..	...Sir John Smyth, Bart.
Rood Ashton ... ..	...R. G. Long, Esq.
Rowde Ford House ... ..	...Wadham Locke, Esq.
Rushall ... ..	...Sir Edward Poore, Bart.
Rushmore Lodge ... ..	...Lord Rivers.
Sandridge Park... ..	...Lord Audley.

Names of Places.				Of Proprietors.
Savernake Lodge	...	...	...	Lord Bruce.
Shaw House	...	...	...	Sir H. Burrard Neale, Bart.
Shaw Hill House	...	...	...	S. Heathcote, Esq.
Spy Park	...	...	...	Dr. Starky.
Standlynch House	...	...	...	See Trafalgar Park.
Stanton Fitzwarren	...	...	...	Rev. Dr. Ashfordby Trenchard.
Stourhead	...	...	...	Sir R. Colt Hoare, Bart.
Stowell Lodge	...	...	...	Admiral Sir G. Montagu.
Swindon House	...	...	...	A. Goddard, Esq.
Teffont House	...	...	...	J. T. Mayne, Esq.
Tockenham House	...	...	...	J. J. Buxton, Esq.
Tottenham Park	...	...	...	Marquis of Ailesbury.
Trafalgar Park	...	...	...	Earl Nelson.
Wans House	...	...	...	Charles L. Phipps, Esq.
Wardour Castle	...	...	...	Lord Arundel.
Warley House	...	...	...	Colonel Skrine.
Warneford Lodge	...	...	...	F. Warneford, Esq.
Whetham	...	...	...	— Money, Esq.
Wilbury House	...	...	...	Sir Alexander Warre Malet, Bart.
Wilcot House	...	...	...	Miss Wroughton.
Wilton House	...	...	...	Earl of Pembroke.
Zeals House	...	...	...	Mrs. Grove.

EMINENT PERSONS, NATIVES OF, OR BELONGING TO WILTSHIRE.

<i>Names and Distinctions.</i>	<i>Native Place or Residence.</i>	<i>Born.</i>	<i>Died.</i>	<i>Reference.</i>
Aldhelm (St.), Poet and Divine.	Malmesbury.	1623		Beauties of Wiltshire, vol. iii. 100.
Allein (Joseph), Divine.	Devizes.	1626	1668	Calamy's Nonconformist's Memorial.
Aubrey (John), Antiquary.	Easton Piers.		1700	Bieg. Brit.; Gough's Topography; B. of Wilt. iii. 157.
Baldwin (Peter), Latin Poet.	Malmesbury.		1130	William of Malmesbury's History of English Bishops.
Beckham (Humphrey), Sculptor.	Salisbury.	1588	1671	Ledwich's Ant. Saris; Beauties of Wiltshire, i. 76.
Bennett (Dr. Thomas), Divine.	Salisbury.	1673	1728	Biographia Britannica.
Blackmore (Sir Richard), Poet and Physician.	Corsham.	1650	1729	Johnson's Lives; Beauties of Wiltshire, ii. 266.
Bowles (the Rev. W. Lisle), Poet.	Brenhill.			
Coxe (the Rev. Archdn.), Historian and Topographer.	Salisbury.			
Crabbe (the Rev. George), Poet.	Trowbridge.			
Canutus (Robert), Divine.	Cricklade.			
Chandler (Mary), Poet.	Malmesbury.			
Coryate (Rev. George), Latin Poet.	Salisbury.			
Davies (Lady Eleanor), Mystical Writer.	Fonthill.	ab. 1603	1652	Ballard's Memoirs of Learned Ladies.
Davis (John M.D.), Author.	Devizes.	ab. 1750		Beauties of Wiltshire, iii.
Devizes (Richard of), Historian.	Devizes.		1200	Fuller's Worthies.
Duck (Stephen), Poet.	Charlton.		1756	Chalmer's Bio. Dictionary; Beau. of Wilt., i. 125.
Danby (Henry, Earl of), Statesman.	Dauntsey.	1573	1643	Biographia Britannica; Beauties of Wiltshire, iii. 76.

<i>Names and Distinctions.</i>	<i>Native Place or Residence.</i>	<i>Born.</i>	<i>Died.</i>	<i>References.</i>
Earle (William Benson), Antiquary.	Salisbury.	1740	1796	Gentleman's Magazine, lxvi. 353.
Edwards (Bryan, M.P., F.R.S.), } Historian.	Westbury.	1743	1900	Chalmer's Biographical Dictionary.
Eccles (Rev. John).	Salisbury.	1609	1667	Wood's Athenæ Oxoniensis.
Editha (St.).	Wilton.		984	Fuller's Worthies.
Ela (Countess of Sarum).	Lacock.		1261	Beauties of Wiltshire, iii. 238.
Fettham (John), Miscellaneous Writer.	Salisbury.	ab. 1770	1803	Beauties of England, vol. xv., Wiltshire.
Foster (Sir Michael), Lawyer.	Malnesbury.	1689	1763	Life by Dodson.
Fox (Sir Stephen), Statesman.	Farley.	1627	1716	Memoirs of his Life, 1717.
Pastolf (Sir John), Warrior.	Castle Combe.		1469	Biographia Britannica; Beaut. of Wiltshire, iii. 178.
Grandison (O, St. John, Viscount), } Statesman.	Liddiard Tregoeze.		1630	Fuller's Worthies; Beauties of Wiltshire, iii. 33.
Greenhill (John), Painter.	Salisbury.	ab. 1640	1676	Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting.
Garlike (Benjamin), Statesman.	Salisbury.		1815	Gent. Mag., lxxv. p. i. 565; Month. Mag., xi. 274.
Gore (Thomas), Antiquary.	Alderton.	1631	1684	{ Moule's Bibliotheca; Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses; Beauties of Wiltshire, iii. 142.
Glanvil (John), Poet.	Broad Hinton.	1664	1735	Wood's Athen. Oxon.
Harris (James), Critic, Essayist.	Salisbury.	1709	1780	Life and Works, by the Earl of Malnesbury.
Harte (Walter), Poet and Historian.	Marlborough.		1773	Noble's Biog. History of England, iii. 147.
Hatcher (John), Author.	Salisbury.		1535	Berkenhout's Biographia Literaria.
Horman (Will.), Miscellaneous Writer.	Salisbury.		1719	Johnson's Lives.
Hughes (John), Poet.	Marlborough.	1677	1812	Nichol's Literary Anecdotes, vol. iii.
Hasted (Edward), Topographer.	Corsham.	[1732	1817	Gent. Mag., lxxxvii. part i. 372; Wiltshire, iii. 75.
Hearne (Thomas), Draughtsman.	Brinkworth.	1744		
Hobbes (Thomas), Philosopher.	Malnesbury.	1588	1679	Biog. Brit.; Beauties of Wiltshire, iii. 101.
Keate (George), Poet.	Trowbridge.	1729	1797	Nichol's Lit. Anecd. ii. 332; Beaut. of Wilt., iii. 201.

<i>Names and Distinctions.</i>	<i>Native Place or Residence.</i>	<i>Born.</i>	<i>Died.</i>	<i>Reference.</i>
Lansdowne (William, Marquis of), Statesman.	} Bowood.	1737	1805	Public Charac. for 1799, 1800; Gent. Mag. lxxv. 491.
Maschiart (Michael), Latin Poet.	Salisbury.		1598	Wood's Athenæ Oxoniensis.
Man (John), Statesman.	Lacock.		1568	Beaut. of Wiltshire, iii. 243; Wood's Athen. Oxon.
Massinger (Philip), Dramatic Poet.	Wilton.	1585	1689	Life by Gifford, prefixed to his Works.
Merewether (Henry), Barrister, Author.	Calne.		1750	Monthly Magazine, xv. 197.
Moffatt Rev. John M.), Author.	Malmesbury.		1714	Nichol's Lit. Anecdotes, iii. 348.
Squire (Samuel), Divine.	Warminster.		1181	Fuller's Worthies.
Sadler (Robert), Author.	Chippenham.		1638	1694 Biog. Brit.
Salisbury (John of), Critic.	Old Sarum.			
Scott (John), Divine.	Chippenham.			
Tobin (John), Dramatic Poet.	Salisbury.	1770	1804	Life by Miss Benger.
Talman (William), Architect.	W. Lavington.		af. 1608	Walpole's Anecdotes.
Tanner (Thos. Bishop), Antiquary.	M. Lavington.	1674	1735	Biog. Brit.; Beauties of Wiltshire, iii.
Thorpe (John), Antiquary.	Chippenham.	1682	1792	Nichols's Lit. Anec. iii. 515; Beaut. of Wilts. iii. 162.
Winterburne (Walter), Divine.	Salisbury.	ab. 1224	1305	Ibid.
Wise (Michael), Musician.	Salisbury.			Ree's Cyclopædia.

1

NOBLES AND GENTRY OF WILTSHIRE

IN THE TIME OF HENRY VII.

From the Catalogue of the MSS. in the Cottonian Library in the British Museum, Faustina, E. ii. p. 218. The MS. whence this List is taken was formerly intitled *Plutarch* IX. C. It contains Lists of the Nobility and Gentry of Kent, Hampshire, Gloucestershire, and Lancashire and Cheshire, as well as Wiltshire, all in the same hand-writing.

1. The Lord Broke, Steward of the King's Household.
2. The Lord St. Amand.
3. Sir John Cheyne.
4. Sir Walter Hungerford.
5. Sir Roger Tocottys.
6. Sir George, or Alexander Darell; Sir Edward Darell.
Constantyne Darell.
7. Sir Thomas Mylburn.
8. Sir Christopher Wroughton; John Wroughton, the
father.
9. John Seymor.
10. John Monpesshon.
11. Edward Seruyngton.
12. John Rogers.
13. Walter Bonham.
14. Richard Warnford.
15. Feres of Blunsdon.
16. Waren.
17. Whittocsund.
18. Baskett.
19. Walron.
20. Stradlinge.
21. Hampton of Salisbury.

22. Hules of Salisbury.
23. Castlecombe Dunstanvill.
24. Swayne.
25. Mychell.
26. Owyn, or Onwyn.
27. Stoon of Hyworthe.
28. Borow.
29. Chaterton.
30. John Bratton.
31. Lodlow.
32. Edmond Mody.
33. Thomas a Lawder.
34. John Wrythesley, alias Garter Roy des Armes des
Angloys.
35. Thomas Calston.
36. The Lord of Chelton.
37. Thomas Chellery.
38. John Lee of Whight.
39. Tropenell.
40. Sir John Beynton.
41. Thomas Russell.

FAMILIES SETTLED IN WILTSHIRE

PREVIOUS TO THE REIGN OF HENRY VII.

42. Dantesey of Dantesey and Lavington.
43. Mauduit of Somerford Parva.
44. Maltravers of Somerford Magna.
45. Tregoze of Liddiard.
46. De la Beche.
47. Sturmy of Wolf-Hall.
48. De la Mere of Foxley and Leigh.

49. Gawain.
50. Beauchamp of Bromham.
51. Stourton of Stourton.
52. Collingbourne of Liddiard.
53. Giffard of Maiden Bradley.
54. Zouche.
55. Erneley of Echilampton.
56. Baynard of Lackham.
57. Botreaux.
58. Bassett.
59. West of Fonthill.
60. Molins.
61. Hall of Bradford.
62. Mayne.
68. Benger of Sutton.
64. Cerne of Draycot.
65. Burrell of Langley.
66. Keynell of Yatton.
67. Gore of Alderton.
68. De la Boxe.
69. Wayte of Chippenham.
70. Eyre.
71. Duke.
72. St. Quentin of Stanton.
73. Ashley of Ashley.
74. Scroope of Castlecombe.
75. St. John of Liddiard.

FAMILIES SETTLED IN WILTSHIRE

SINCE THE BEGINNING OF HENRY THE SEVENTH'S REIGN.

76. Audley of Fonthill.

77. Knyvett of Charlton.
78. Mervin of Fonthill and Pertwood.
79. Danvers of Dantesey.
80. Aubrey of Chaddenwick.
—— of Broadchalk.
81. Thynne of Longleat.
82. Penruddock of Compton Chamberlayne.
83. Wyndham of Dinton.
84. Snell of Kington.
85. Pleydell of Midgehall.
86. Duckett of Hartham.
87. Poole of Oaksey.
88. Stumpe of Malmesbury.
89. Long of Whaddon and Draycot.
90. Freke of Hannington.
91. Goddard of Swindon.
92. Podham of Littlecott.
93. Light of Easton Piers.
94. Ayliffe of Foxley.
95. Estcourt of Newnton.
96. Jason of Somerford Magna.
97. Chafyn of Zeals.
98. Gorges of Ashley.
99. Montagu of Lackham.
100. Talbot of Lacock.
101. Ashe of Langley Burrell.
102. Jones of Ramsbury.
103. Ley of Teffont.
104. A'Court of Heytesbury.
105. Lambert of Boyton.
106. Maskelyne of Cricklade.
107. Eliot of Down Ampney.
108. Englefield of Wotton Bassett.

SAXON KINGS.

EGBERT, 827.

ETHELWULF, 837.

ETHELRED, 869. ETHELBERG, 860. ETHELRED I. 868. ALFRED, 872.

EDWARD I. (the Elder), 901.

ÆTHELSTAN, 935. Edwin. EDMUND I. (the Elder), 940. EDRÆD, 947.

EDWY, 955; EDGAR the Peaceable, 959; married Elfrida of Devonshire, who gave Æthelred, became mother of Edgar's son by 1st wife.

EDWARD II. the Martyr, 975. ETHELRED II. the Unready, 978.

EDMUND Iron-side 1016; killed same year. EDWARD III. Athelred, Confessor, 1041; murdered by Harold I. died 1066.

Edward the Outlaw.

Edgar Atheling. Margaret married Malcolm, King of Scotland. Matilda, married Henry I. of England.

Matilda or Maud, by her second husband, Geoffrey of Anjou, had

HENRY II., King of England, 1154.

DANISH KINGS.

CANUTE, 1014, married Emma; widow of Ethelred II., by whom he had

By former wife

Gita, married Earl Godwin. HAROLD I. 1036-1039; died 1041. HARDCANUTE, 1039; died 1041.

HAROLD II.

ERRATA.

P. 8. l. 29. for "unparalleled," read "unparalleled." p. 13. l. 21. for "wholly," read "wholly." p. 14. l. 7. for "Bundlet," read "Bandlet." p. 17. l. 8. for "seems," read "seem." p. 18. l. 28. for "quautity," read "quantity." p. 21. l. 6. for "Plotemy," read "Ptolmey." p. 22. l. 6. for "momenclature," read "nomenclature." p. 31 l. 11. for "Bishoprick," read "Bishopric." p. 50. l. 16. for "Mary's," read "Mary." p. 54. l. 2. for "an-thems," read "anathemas." p. 58. l. 12. for "steeple was," read "steeples were." p. 61. l. 12. for "abbies," read "abbeys." p. 62. l. 2. for "*Eccles*," read "*Eccles*." p. 66. l. 8. for "Poor," read "Poer." p. id. l. 24. for "de-ceive," read "deceive." p. id. l. id. for "leads," read "lead." p. 75. l. 23. for "encumbants," read "incumbents." p. 77. l. 21. for "concupine," read "concubine." p. 80. l. 2. for "thc," read "the." p. 84. last para-graph: Since this was put to press, MACKENZIE E. C. WALCOTT, B.D., F.S.A., *Prætor and Prebendary of Chichester*, has measured up and drawn a correct ground-plan of the abbey, for this history. p. 85. l. 2 from bottom, for "armies," read "arms." p. 92. l. 25 for "a," read "as." p. 98. l. 9. for "enables," read "enable." p. 117. l. 15. for "pinacles," read "pinnacles." p. id. l. 23 for "tracey," read "tracery." p. id. bottom line, for "differs," read "differ." p. 130. l. 1. of note, for "Meyldulph's," read "Maeldulph's." p. 139. l. 8. for "was," read "were." p. 150. l. 5. for "near," read "year." p. 151. l. 4. for "Charless," read "Charles." p. 155. l. 1. for "rcturn," read "return." p. id. l. 10. for "1809," read "1709." p. 170. l. 15. for "sueh" read "such." p. 171. l. 17. for "posession," read "possession." p. 182. l. 23. for "present," read "late." p. 192. l. 4. from bottom, read "statues," for "statutes." p. 193. l. 1. of note, for "thas," read "that." p. 195. l. 25. for "a ford," read "affords." p. 201. l. 12. for "worshippers," read "worshippers." p. id. l. 28. for "accomodation," read "accommodation." p. 203. l. 16. for "mally," read "medley." p. id. l. 29. for "is," read "are." p. 204. l. 18. for "manufaeturies," read "manu-factories." p. 205. l. 12. for "previleges," read "privileges." p. id. l. 16. for "munificent doner," read "munificent donor." p. 207. l. 1. for "dimini," read "diminished." p. 213. l. 8. for "previleges," read "privileges." p. 214. l. 16. for "was," read "were." p. 220. l. 18. for "unpresedented," read "unprecedented." p. id. l. 31. for "borough," read "boroughs." p. 221. l. 24. for "inglourious," read "inglorious." p. 223. l. 13. for "was," read "were." p. id. l. 27 for "the these," read "these." p. 228. l. 17. for "crouds," read "crowds." p. 229. l. 5. for "thl," read "the." p. 231. l. 19 for "considesable," read "considerable." p. 232. l. 1. of poetry, for "ministers," read "minsters." p. 234. l. 25. for "persuits," read "pursuits." p. 244. l. 4. for "siezed," read "seized." p. 250. l. 26. for "erected," read "erected." p. 256. bottom line, "characrer," read "character." p. 257. l. 25. for "a open," read "an open." p. 260. l. 20. for "Mrs.," read "Mary." p. 266. l. 25. for "abhey," read "abbey." p. 270. l. 2. col. 4. for "1900," read "1800." p. id. l. 7. col. 3. for "a640," read "1640." p. id. reference col. l. 13. for "Bibliioeca," read "Bibliotheca."

